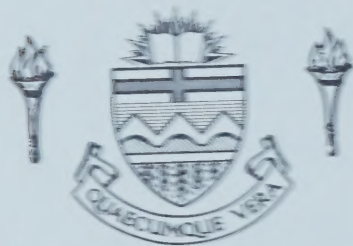


For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex LIBRIS
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026 with funding from
University of Alberta Library

<https://archive.org/details/0162003998125>

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Catherine Harriett Wynnyk
TITLE OF THESIS An Interpretive View of a Grade One Art Class:
 An Ethnographic Study
DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Education
YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1985

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN INTERPRETIVE VIEW OF A GRADE ONE ART CLASS:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

by



CATHERINE HARRIETT WYNNYK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled An Interpretive View of a Grade One Art Class: An Ethnographic Study submitted by Catherine Harriett Wynnyk in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to give an account of the acquired cultural knowledge (explicit and tacit) that children use in their day-to-day interaction in an art class setting. The study reconstructed the art experiences of eighteen grade one children in order to discover their cultural viewpoint as they interpret the creation of art work.

A survey of the related literature described diverse views held about children and their artistic development and, as well, explanations concerning how this development occurred. The sparsity of research that considers the child's point of view, even when art education focuses on the child, shows the need for this study that explores how young children acquire and use cultural knowledge in their lived-in world of an art classroom.

An ethnographic method of research was chosen because a major principle of ethnographic research aims at presenting a culture as it appears to the participants.

Research techniques included participant observation, written narrative descriptions, interviews and field notes. Observations as basic categories of action and interaction were analysed in a number of ways as they emerged during the study. Ethnographic interpretations were made of the participants' knowledge and generation of social behavior.

The study revealed that learning is not merely the explication of a predetermined body of knowledge by an expert to a group of children but rather it is a complex interaction of personalities, acquired

stocks of knowledge, and interpretations of experiences.

The concluding portion of the study reemphasized that each child brings a unique set of experiences to any social situation with which he or she interprets the actions and interactions of that situation. It would seem that children use multiple sources from which they acquire knowledge leading to levels of artistic and social competence within the context of the art classroom.

The significance of the study may be a provision of some guidelines as to how children interpret the culture of a classroom.

Recommendations for further study included looking at different schools with different age ranges of children. In addition research could determine if gender, ethnic influences or socio-economic status influence a child's interpretations of art. Further research may focus on the availability of materials as well as teacher attitudes and expectations concerning art education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are extended to Pat Rafferty, my supervisor, who became much more than an advisor. Thanks also to the committee members for their valuable support.

I want to sincerely thank two fellow graduate students, Marg Alford and Susan MacLean, dear friends indeed, for their concern and support in the writing of this thesis. Without them, it never would have been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	The Purpose of the Study	5
II	A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE	6
	Changing Perspectives in Art Education	6
	The Adult Viewpoint Concerning Children's Art	7
	Teaching Art to Children	10
	An Alternative Viewpoint: The Child as Interpreter	11
	Summation: Art Education Research	13
III	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DESIGN	15
	Acquired Cultural Knowledge	16
	Explicit Cultural Knowledge	21
	Tacit Cultural Knowledge	21
	Summary of Acquired Cultural Knowledge	23
	An Analysis of a Social Situation	23
	Contextual Meanings	26
	Summation: Analysing Social Situations	29
	Design	29
	The Selection of a Study Sample	29
	The Classroom	30
	The Art Room	32
	Chapter Summary	33
IV	THE SELECTION OF METHODOLOGY	35
	Ethnographic Research	35

Chapter		Page
	Selected Procedures for Ethnography	36
	Participant observation	37
	Field entry	38
	The ethnographic interview	41
	Documentation	44
	Descriptive Procedures for Analysing Data	46
	The First Step in Analysis	46
	Field notes	47
	Alternate data gathering processes	53
	Summary field notes	54
	The Final Step in Analysis	54
	The selection of categories	55
	Taxonomic structures	58
	Chapter Summary	59
V	RESULTS	60
	Taxonomies of Interactive Behavior	63
	Teacher Action	65
	Student Action	78
	Teacher-Student Interaction	85
	Student-Peer Interaction	109
	Chapter Summary	125
VI	CONCLUSIONS, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	127
	Conclusions	127
	Significance of the Study	132
	Recommendations for Further Research	133

	Page
BIBLIOGRAPHY	134
APPENDIX 1. THE CLASSROOM	149
APPENDIX 2. THE ART ROOM	151
APPENDIX 3. RESEARCH PERMISSION FORM	153
APPENDIX 4. SCHOOL PROGRAM	156
APPENDIX 5. ARTS: PROVINCIAL CURRICULA	158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	The Two Levels of Cultural Knowledge	16
2	Artistic Knowledge Taxonomy	61
3	Data Analysis Taxonomy	64
4	Teacher Action Taxonomy	65
5	Student Action Taxonomy	78
6	Teacher-Student Taxonomy	85
7	Student-Peer Taxonomy	109

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

"I hope my head isn't cracked."

"Your head's cracked all right."

"I mean the one in the kiln!"

"Shh! Here comes the teacher."

I unobtrusively unlocked the art room door and stepped aside as a tide of children swept into the room. As I took off high-heeled sandals and stepped into comfortable paint-spattered shoes I watched students dropping books onto the storage table, getting into smocks and heading for the table where the fired clay objects were displayed. I punched the play button on the cassette. Strains of quiet, pre-recorded music flowed across the room ushering in what would pass as another typical art class.

Art instruction in the elementary grades is part of the required Program of Studies in Alberta. Students enrolled in Grades 1-6 must receive a minimum of 150 minutes instruction in Fine Arts (Art and Music) per week. The Program of Studies (1983, p. 52) further states that "the art program should be scheduled for at least one hour a week, apart from its place as an adjunct to other subjects." Other provinces within Canada have similar requirements for art instruction in the elementary grades (ARTS: Provincial Curricula, 1983, pp. 29-33). Such commitment in time, financial support and human resources implies the importance given to the notion of children acquiring

knowledge about art. In making art instruction a required part of the Program of Studies in the province of Alberta, our school systems are directly engaged in the production and dissemination of acquired knowledge; that is, what is to be taught and the ways of teaching it. In their formal capacity school systems are embodied as "regulative and operative institutions which explicitly aim to teach people, most often the young, specific sets of facts and abilities which provide the context for teaching other less patent [tacit] lessons, morals and ideas" (Comitas & Dolgin, 1978, p. 166). As an art teacher I expected my students to produce art. The meaning of such art becomes referred to in a taken-for-granted way in an art making situation. This taken-for-granted way of regarding art makes communication possible, not that the meaning of each facet of the art object is explicit but because there is an assumption of shared knowledge. The assumption of shared knowledge takes for granted that communication is possible in order that both the student and the art teacher can communicate about the art object. How is the talk about art heard outside the classroom door to be understood when thought of in the cultural context of the art room? Why as a teacher did I let some of the children's talk pass with little notice? Why didn't I question the action of the students in the classroom discarding books, putting on other clothes, wandering about and talking to each other? What was the cultural knowledge I used to interpret the children's actions?

One way of discovering the answers to these questions is to view the schooling of children within a cultural context. The cultural context for this study is the everyday, taken-for-granted culture of

the classroom in which our children spend a large portion of their lives. Culture has been defined by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) as:

the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior . . . cultural knowledge is learned and shared. The knowledge that people talk about is explicit [stated, precise] whereas the shared knowledge that cannot be articulated is tacit [unstated]. (p. 40)

This definition will be a pivotal point in attempting to understand how members of a culture of childhood come to the acquired cultural knowledge that they use to interpret art experiences and generate social behavior within the context of an art classroom.

Some scholars (Apple & King, 1977; Burton, 1978; Greene, 1978) say that emphasis on adult standards of acquired knowledge and acceptable social behavior within the school systems has diminished interest in the child's viewpoint to such a degree that we know very little about how children actually interpret art experiences. Berger (1972) in describing this acceptance of adult authority as a commonsense view cautioned that what is frequently called a "commonsense view is actually the grown-up view taken for granted. It is a matter of the school records having become an ontology" (p. 67). Any ontology; that is, a particular belief system which takes for granted its justification, rarely questions the acceptability of the taken-for-granted stance from a child's viewpoint. Nor does this taken-for-granted stance reflect upon the consequences of expecting a child to unquestioningly accept the adults' belief systems. According to Dobbert (1982)

One of the shortcomings of institutions in dealing with culturally distinct clients has often been that the definition of the group's needs and the institution's responses have been formulated in the institution's own terms and according to its own values. (p. 124)

This viewpoint of the institutionalized world of school children draws support from Smith (1980) who states that:

Without a doubt, the deep tragedy of our institutions for the young is that these institutions find their mandate in adult determinations from which the voice of children, as serious interlocution, is shut out. (p. 133)

It has been suggested by Suransky (1983) that we look with fresh eyes at adult interpretations that speak more to adult meanings than to the meaning of a child's interpretation of experiences. A concern for how meanings have come to be taken-for-granted in social contexts moved Garfinkel (1967) to recommend that researchers make any situation anthropologically strange; that is, to question everyday occurrences, to take nothing for granted especially when those happenings are accepted as natural, inevitable, or unchangeable. In everyday life we do not doubt the things that are going on around us. In the encounter at the artroom door, as related earlier, I didn't engage the students in explanations. Somehow I seemed to take for granted the meanings of their social actions. What is the tacit knowledge going on as a teacher makes sense about art in the classroom? What is the tacit knowledge as used by a child? Prominent art educators (Chapman, 1978; Eisner, 1979; Feldman, 1980) say we have ignored the knowledge that children use to make sense of the everyday world of an art class. The notion of acquired cultural knowledge is therefore made problematic and becomes the focus of this study.

I utilized an ethnographic approach to investigate how this particular grade one class was experienced by its participants. The particular theoretical approach taken assisted in the formulation and meaning of the questions raised. "The particular questions raised by

research programs must dictate the selection of methods and combinations of methods appropriate to the questions addressed" (Schulman, 1979, p. 261). Ethnography is defined simply by Spradley and McCurdy (1975, p. 45) when they say it is "the work of describing a culture." The culture of childhood is assumed to be no different than an exotic culture in the respect that children form an intact cultural scene, they exist, they share beliefs, make artifacts, acquire knowledge, and their behavior is open to investigation.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to give an account of the acquired cultural knowledge (explicit and tacit) that children use in their day-to-day interaction in an art classroom setting. This study will be a reconstruction of the reactions of eighteen children to their art experiences in order to discover their cultural viewpoints as they respond to and interpret the processes of art creation at the grade one level.

By focusing on the students' interpretations of what goes on in one art classroom I will attempt to answer these questions:

1. How do children acquire what counts as knowledge in the art classroom?
2. How do children make use of their acquired knowledge to interpret an art experience?
3. How do children typify a course of events that constitute an art class?

Chapter II

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter will describe some of the studies in the area of art education research. It begins with several adult viewpoints regarding children's art and proceeds with a shift towards the child's viewpoint. A description of this shift is deemed important because it demonstrates that researchers and educators are reconsidering how to report on what children see as they observe the world in which the children find themselves, to discover what the child experiences, in other words adults are becoming concerned with the child's-eye view of the world. A descriptive undertaking regarding this shift of emphasis reveals an insufficiency of research that considers the child's point of view even when art education focuses on the child. Attention is given to recent studies of adult-child responsive dialogues and from these studies arises a theoretical stance.

Changing Perspectives in Art Education

Research in art education is comparatively new. "Prior to the early 1920's, children's art was widely regarded as a clumsy and immature version of adult art" (Chapman, 1978, p. 10). Since that time changes in the significance attached to children's art are reflected in the emphasis of research studies. Many of the studies still tend to ignore the viewpoint of the child; instead they focus on, and make explicit, the predetermined art knowledge that children

7

should acquire. In these studies, adults apparently view art education as a process through which the child is subservient to adult criteria for success. In contrast, some authorities conclude that children's artistic activities differ significantly from those of adults and they advocate paying attention to the child's cultural perspective.

The Adult Viewpoint Concerning Children's Art

The following influential authorities in the field of art education have examined studies relating to children's art from several viewpoints.

Some researchers have examined child art with the intent of focusing on theoretical stages of artistic development (Golomb, 1974; Kellogg, 1969; Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1982; Lubin & Poulsen, 1978). These examinations revealed that certain characteristics appear in invariant sequence in children's art work. Theoretical stages are a means by which researchers can begin to describe, extrapolate, and organize the general characteristics of children's art work at any given stage of artistic development. As a consequence it becomes easier for adults to formulate what is to be in the art curriculum at each stage. The emphasis of such research identifies predetermined, qualitative changes in artistic growth.

Another specific area of research focuses on aspects of children's drawing ability. Drawing in perspective or copying geometric figures were scrutinized for predetermined results (Cox, 1977; Goodnow, 1977; Philips, Hobbs & Pratt, 1978). For example, Dr. Cox conducted an experiment "in which five-year-olds who could

not do the task initially were trained to perform like normal ten-or eleven-year olds" (p. 96). While acknowledging that the rate of artistic development can, to a degree, be accelerated by learning experiences, Lark-Horovitz (1976) questions the value of that particular kind of gain. Why would anyone want a five-year old to draw like an eleven-year old? The very idea that children's art is open to adult manipulation and classification presumes a dogmatic certainty that the validity of adult perceptions is not to be questioned. Some adult authority figures invalidate young children's artistic expressions by not considering the knowledge the children bring to the situation. Adults having such standard versions of reality incessantly describe the world to children until a child sees the world as it is described (Castaneda, 1973). Such insistence on maintaining the adult version of reality apparently renders people insensitive to the voices and visions of children.

The merits of children's drawings as measures of intelligence or personality have been researched (Goodenough, 1926; Harris, 1963; Koppitz, 1968; Machover, 1949). Clinical studies show that children's art is indeed an indicator of intelligence and personality, that the emotional ups and downs of many children are clearly reflected in their art work. The consensus recommendation of these studies is that only professionally prepared experts should analyse and interpret such works in order to avoid over-simplified judgments regarding a child's projections of fears, fantasies, hostilities, body imagery or family relationships. For example, Winner & Gardner (1980) mention a little girl who drew all her people at the bottom of her paper.

Indeed this girl may be expressing a sense of powerlessness, but, it may be that the easel is too high for her and she simply can't reach any further up the paper. Winner and Gardner (1980) warn that:

In brief, the clinician must be careful to determine that the aspects of children's drawings to be interpreted were produced where alternatives existed, and that they emerge with some regularity across contexts. (p. 18)

As indicated in the aforementioned reviews, children's art work has been studied in considerable depth. Many studies have in the past focused typically on how the young relate to the adult culture. Children have often been viewed as objects to be taught, or measured, or counselled (Burton, 1978). Studies limiting a researcher's focus to stages, to training, or to measurement seem to use a child's art form to confirm adult imposed norms in order to justify adult bias while ignoring the viewpoint of the child.

In contrast to the stance taken above, some art educators (Broudy, 1977; Burton, 1980-1981; Chapman, 1978; Eisner, 1979; Felman, 1980) having made contributions to both the theory and practise of ideas in the development of children's creativity in the arts, advocate paying attention to the development of interpretive capabilities in young children as significant educational ends that are valuable in themselves as goals of art experiences. After analyzing elementary school children's discussions of works of art, Ecker (1973) concluded that their interpretive statements indicated more artistic awareness than has previously been accorded to children because researchers often concentrate on the limitations of the children's interpretation rather than on its potentialities.

Teaching Art to Children

It is important to note that in our society the school is the only 'institution officially responsible' for educating children in art (Chapman, 1978). However, there is no consensus by art educators of precisely what or how to teach art to children. As Henry (1960) noted:

All societies have recognized that children of different ages are capable of learning different things although they may differ in opinion as to the specific age at which children are capable of learning some one thing. (p. 290)

Lowenfeld and Brittain (1982) advocate a learn-by-doing process utilizing structured motivation in the classroom where there is a specific purpose for the art lesson. Teachers are directed to use extreme precautions against interfering with a child's personal self-expression. Essentially teachers are not to show a child how to draw specific images and objects nor is a child to view or copy other works of art. Children are to discover their own schema and symbols. Some art teachers agree with the position perceiving children's art as a natural growth through developmental stages.

Not all authorities perceive children's art in this light. According to Eisner and Ecker (1966), children's artistic knowledge should not be a matter of chance because "an unassisted course of maturation simply will not develop the potential that children possess" (p. 13). In order to be effective, an art education program should give attention to three domains: the productive (the art product), the critical (the quality of the product) and the historical (the evolution of art in human culture). Chapman (1978) agrees that

skilled art experiences will provide a child with enriching insights about reality while further stressing that in order to learn effectively a child must know what art is, who makes it, how artists get their ideas, by what means art is created and how art relates to the environment.

This study will not attempt to discover the correct, the best, or the only way of viewing children's art work. While acknowledging the assumed goals of art education programs art is to have children producing art work with technical competence as well as enjoying a deeper understanding of the arts, it is important to keep in mind that the children's art is produced in the context of an art classroom. The point to be made is that art products are not created in isolation from a child as a whole person. Each child brings multiple perspectives of his lived-in world with him to the classroom. Art education should foster a more comprehensive understanding of the personal and social importance of art than is typically addressed by many existing art education programs (Chapman, 1978).

An Alternative Viewpoint: The Child as Interpreter

Any teaching approach advocating support for the child's viewpoint in art must take into account how a student actually interprets art, either verbally or non-verbally. The adult's role in the development of the child's viewpoint is important according to Chapman (1978) because:

The manner in which a young child encounters a work of art is just as important as the quality of the work itself; in every

case, adults play a vital role in determining what children notice about a particular work and how children feel about the very process of encountering works of art. (p. 154)

How better to get children's ideas about art than by talking with them and listening to them? We must be listening posts says Rosen (1973) if for "no other reason than that there is no other way of tuning into what children make of their world" (p. 42). Recent research (Burton, J., 1980, 1981) presented an overview of children's art that stressed the importance of children's verbal interpretations of art. She found that children do contemplate the results produced by their thoughts and actions. She suggests that we listen to the tone as well as the content of our children's voices as did Armstrong (1980) when he engaged children in dialogue in order to interpret their world of experiences. Dialogue is not a mere exchange of words, but depends upon reciprocal contributions that can be synthesized into a joint interpretation (not necessarily a joint agreement) that can exceed the view of either contributor. According to Bruner (1973) one of the most crucial ways in which a culture provides aid in intellectual growth "is through dialogue between the more experienced and the less experienced, providing a means for the internalization of dialogue in thought" (p. 476). Dialogue offers decision making opportunities in that it assists children to move from decisions focusing basically on themselves to decisions incorporating both self and others. Suransky (1982) related Piaget's insights pertaining to this growth of intellectual development in which the child begins to de-center and to move from egocentrism to a more mature accommodation of the everyday world. Dialogue can become interesting and rewarding because an

ability and willingness to understand a point of view other than one's own challenges the adult's thinking as well as the child's thinking by means of questioning, presenting views and making reflective interpretations about art work. The assumption regarding the incorporation of teacher-student dialogue into art education programs is that the more people reflect on their decisions, the more meaningful their decisions will become.

Summation: Art Education Research

In summary, the pertinent literature relating to children's art establishes the relatively new importance awarded to the child artist. Systems that were constructed solely upon adult knowledge and assumptions about children, their capabilities, interests and inclinations at various stages, are subject to doubt because "their evaluation of the child's knowledge of the arts was very much tied to adult conceptions of how that knowledge was to be demonstrated" (Rosario, 1977, p. 98). Art education authorities (Broudy, 1977; Burton, 1980-1981; Chapman, 1978; Ecker, 1973; Eisner, 1984; Feldman, 1980) bringing to light these doubts advocate paying attention to the child's cultural perspective by accepting the child's interpretation of experiences and being open to the child's expression in art forms.

Assumptions accepting that young children's interpretations of art experiences are important and need acknowledgement are relatively new phenomena in the field of art education research. For too long adults have viewed children in a seemingly condescending manner that ignored children's knowledge. If, as Spradley and McCurdy (1975, p. 7)

state, "culture refers only to the knowledge that people use to interpret actions, objects and events," then to ignore the knowledge of children is to ignore that culture of childhood. Educators who accept children's cultural knowledge as valuable concur with Burton's (1978) statement:

It is people who should come first, not what one wishes to do to, or even for, them. In terms of public education this means that teachers, administrators, and consultants could place more emphasis on deriving their plans and proposals from the understanding of the culture of youth. (p. 58)

It is vital to understand the way in which people define their situations and recognize that social location shapes almost everything we do (Schutz, 1973). Cultural context must be considered if a true picture of a culture is to evolve; only in this way can one discover "the hidden meanings [tacit knowledge] that lie behind behavior and the knowledge that people are using to generate and interpret behavior" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, p. 169).

The diverse views held about children's artistic development and the explanations concerning how this development occurs are fundamental concepts of a theory of art education. It is findings such as those discussed which support this study in exploring how young children acquire and use cultural knowledge in their lived-in world of an art classroom.

Chapter III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DESIGN

Any inquiry into a social situation presupposes some hypotheses which serve to guide and organize the study. The hypotheses presented in this study assume that much of what goes on in any social situation, while it may be taken-for-granted by observers and participants, is nonetheless extraordinary. It is important for the researcher to keep in mind the unique and arbitrary nature of everyday behavior that is taken-for-granted.

Any social situation "is made up of persons, their interactions, a place or location, and objects" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972, p. 27). The social situation under study here is a grade one art classroom. It is made up of interacting members of a particular group of people who meet regularly in specific locations which include a variety of objects: desks, tables, and art supplies. This grade one art class will be the means by which I will attempt to discover the acquired cultural knowledge that the participants use to make sense of the social situation. Not all members of a group share everything they know with each other; therefore, not everyone views the situation in the same perspective (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972). The knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior places the situation in a cultural context for them. According to Spradley and McCurdy (1972) the various cultural contexts within a situation need to be separated from the social situation since the latter is the observable place, events, objects and persons seen by an

investigator whereas culture is the knowledge which people use in a social situation.

Acquired Cultural Knowledge

Spradley (1980, p. 8) subdivided the knowledge employed by participants by identifying two levels of cultural knowledge (see Figure 1).

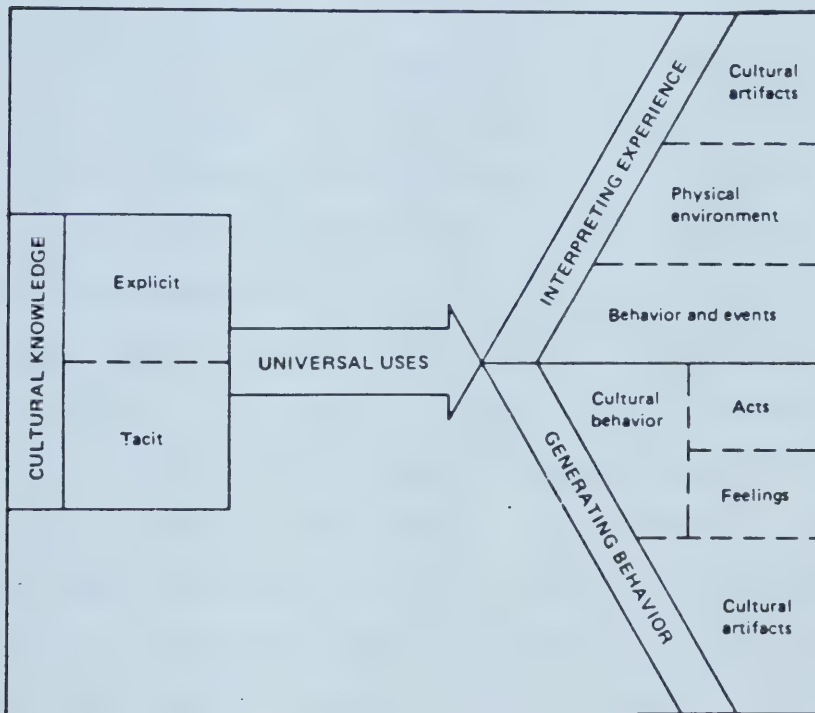


Figure 1

The Two Levels of Cultural Knowledge

Cultural knowledge was subdivided into two levels of understanding, the explicit and the tacit. Each of these levels has

universal uses for interpreting experience and generating behavior. These levels of understanding will be discussed later in this section of the study as reference is made to Figure 1 (p. 16) as an example of how knowledge is acquired in an art classroom.

Spradley and McCurdy (1975) assume that experiences and social behavior are directly related to symbolic meaning systems because:

The culture that we acquire and quickly come to take for granted depends on the human capacity for symbols . . . a symbol is any object or event that has been assigned meaning. (p. 20)

One of the most distinct and fundamental symbolic features of any culture is its language. In order to share meaning with members in social groups, language consists of visual and verbal symbols by which people categorize their perceived world. Any one of us is not able to attend to every aspect of our culture so in a given situation we take-for-granted some things; that is, we give order to what goes on around us. The symbolic nature of human communication is so fundamental for social functioning that the language used becomes taken-for-granted by every competent member of the culture. It is assumed that children will, by school age, have established a set of meanings from their experiences which will provide the basis from which appropriate language can develop (Tough, 1973). In order to learn the language of any cultural group it is necessary to understand that the verbal symbols or terms have multi-meanings depending upon the context of the situation (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). For example, the request "Bring me the charcoal, please." will generate a different interpretation of the term charcoal if the request occurs within an art classroom or if the request occurs at an outdoor barbecue. The meanings of terms are

not intrinsic to themselves. The situational uses of language must be interpreted within a cultural context where language may provide a day-to-day consistency on which to base meaning because it is through language that people create their lived in world (Friere, 1970).

Just as children learn to create symbolic meaning with language they can also learn to construct and interpret meaning with artistic symbols. It is apparent that as a child uses materials such as paint, clay, crayons to externalize ideas, symbols are being used. The drawn lines and the creative shapes produced by a child have some features that link the child's representation of the object or situation with essential characteristics of something experienced. While creating within an art class, a child makes choices based on acquired knowledge about the different graphic media available such as paint, charcoal or sponges which all give rise to different effects. The media, that is, the visual vocabulary, can also have a second, more tacit symbolism, the ideas a child brings to the situation. As Tough (1977) noted:

This situation offers the teacher opportunities to foster the child's imaginative thinking; since there is already present a concrete representation of what the child has imagined, the talk that takes place has an established focus, to which both teacher and child can turn to make their meaning clear. (p. 17)

Any classroom situation, being a social reality, is made up of multiple realities or layers of everyday meanings for the participants. Schutz (1973) developed a theory of the multiple realities of human existence. He explained how humans interpret the compartmentalization of the everyday life in a taken-for-granted, common-sense manner which permits them to create meaning in their world.

Just as taken-for-granted assumptions give order to what we see and hear, common-sense knowledge is also used by people to function in the world of everyday life. The world of everyday life is for most people the fundamental and paramount reality which they take-for-granted by using their common-sense (Schutz, 1973). The way in which individuals use common-sense depends upon their interpretation of experiences. Teachers and researchers need to be more aware that everyday meanings are bound to context and biography; that is, personal history (Wilson, 1977). The biographical situation has as its cardinal feature the fact that at any given moment an individual utilizes a stock of knowledge at hand to interpret social situations (Schutz, 1973). A stock of knowledge at hand is generated through cultural experiences and those experiences are then formulated into typifications of everyday life. Typifications assume that there is a consistency to the patterns of social behavior which minimize ambiguous interpretations of other members' behaviors within the same social system by sharing common understandings. It seems that Spradley and McCurdy (1975) concur with Schutz as they define culture as "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behavior" (p. 5).

Acquired cultural knowledge provides members of a culture with a predictable set of circumstances which will be in operation each time the group meets and carries on activities. Patterns of behavior are not haphazard; within them there is an interrelation of the acquired cultural knowledge and the predictability of social behavior through the use of a set of rules, or cultural codes (Spradley & McCurdy,

1975). Culturally determined rules provide a basis for interpreting experience and organizing social behavior. Social behavior patterns not only represent what is but also what ought to be as the ideal (Schutz, 1973). Ideal patterns are learned during the process of enculturation and are regulated by an internalized set of expectations. Wilson (1977) suggests that individuals find gratification in adhering to cultural patterns of behavior because it is through adherence to the patterns that one gains a sense of having achieved goals; therefore, individuals are expected to act in accordance with the dictates of their culture. Even though there are differentiations between ideal culture of what ought to be and the actual culture what is, it is assumed that actual behavior is a reflection of culturally set standards. Culturally determined rules become a frame of reference with which competent members of a social situation align their actions in order to form and verify normative expectations of social behavior (LeCompte, 1980). As stated previously, the terms, "stock of knowledge" and "acquired cultural knowledge" have similar interpretations; therefore, in the remainder of this study it is assumed that they will embody a common meaning.

Because acquired cultural knowledge in everyday life is often taken-for-granted one does not attend to all the elements of one's own culture. Too often teachers are remiss in not taking the child's view of acquired cultural knowledge into consideration. If teachers were totally effective communicators, the intended meaning of instructions would, in turn, become the meaning received by the students, but this cannot be assumed to always be the case. There is great difficulty in making meaning clear to others. Some of the difficulties

may stem from the teachers' assumptions. Teachers routinely assume that children are able to understand the information the teacher communicates to them; it is taken-for-granted that the children are making the same interpretations about the instructions as the teacher does when they interact socially in the classroom (Rosario, 1977). The consequence of this assumption is an outlook called naive realism (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). Naive realism is experienced by the child as well as the teacher. If teachers assume that a child's interpretation of an art experience matches their own interpretation, they may ignore important aspects of the experience for the child.

Explicit Cultural Knowledge

The explicit aims of schools are characteristically stated in curriculum guides and would qualify as statements of patterns of action (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). These statements are open to review without dealing directly with the participants of the school system. For example, a teacher could browse in the library for curriculum guides from other locations to identify the explicit knowledge to be acquired by students elsewhere. In schools teachers provide instructions to students who are then expected to engage in goal oriented behavior.

Tacit Cultural Knowledge

Within every cultural context, such as the culture of childhood, members acquire knowledge in addition to explicit, stated knowledge. The tacit lessons taught in school are not visually documented in the same manner as the above mentioned explicit aims of the school. The

meanings of tacit knowledge are expressed at another level of experience that people do not often talk about in everyday life. According to Kapferer (1981), tacit lessons, unlike instructions, deal with:

. . . the inculcation of culturally defined ways of perceiving the world and acting within it . . . As such it is a process, unlike the straightforwardly instructional, that is little scrutinized or discussed by school practitioners and their clients, and much taken for granted. (p. 258)

For most of the lives young children learn to interpret symbolism in adult gestures, in adult tones of voices and in adult facial expressions, all of which generate cultural behavior through their taken-for-granted meanings. Subservience to social expectation is learned by making reference to several sources of information and is "acquired partly by paying attention to the non-verbal messages people use to communicate meaning" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, p. 32). A teacher's smile for compliance to a rule, or a teacher's frown for a departure from it, transmits tacit culture to the child. A child usually acquires the knowledge that appearing to conform to routine procedures is good, whereas any substantial departure from the norm is considered deviant behavior and is unacceptable socially (Henry, 1960). Tacit messages referring to unspoken shared knowledge may spring from attitudes, assumptions and expectations which operate at a subconscious level, affecting the underlying meaning of acquired knowledge (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). The acceptance of tacit influence on acquired knowledge is reaffirmed by Wilson (1977) who observes that teachers' behavior and students' learning are never precisely those mandated in the curriculum because schools utilize a tacit curriculum which

presents a set of unstated expectations and rules defining school as a cultural system teaching contextual meanings.

Summary of Acquired Cultural Knowledge

Schools, or the members of schools, by the very normative nature of their organization demonstrate enculturation that is primarily concerned with how socially expected behaviors are learned by members through the formal, explicit and the informal, tacit educational forces within the school (Henry, 1960). To discover the acquired cultural knowledge of children, this research is necessarily context bound; a study of a situation in which I must deliberately make the familiar strange by asking, "Why is this classroom experienced the way it is?"

An Analysis of a Social Situation

As stated previously the art classroom under study is a social situation and as such consists of many cultural contexts having various meanings for the participants. One approach used by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) to analyse human cultures was to affirm the universal uses of cultural knowledge through their definition of culture as "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behavior" (p. 40). The following statement by Luckmann (1983) concurs with regard to cultural universals which accumulate into personal stocks of knowledge.

The universally human intentional activities which are presupposed in the constitution of experience as well as in the process of interpretation of experience and which, thus, lead to the acquisition of knowledge and its sedimentation into subjective stocks of knowledge.. (p. 59)

In other words, the reality of social situations consists of a

continuous, ever changing build-up of individual interpretations of experiences blended into the generation of acceptable or non-acceptable social behavior. Acquired cultural knowledge reflects past experiences toward future expectations and so assists the generation of predictable and acceptable (or non-acceptable) social behavior. Acquired cultural knowledge permits people to understand how things are and why things are that way in a taken-for-granted manner. Luckmann (1983) notes that "individuals in the naive attitude of everyday life are not at all aware of the structure of their stock of knowledge" (p. 61). From the interpretations of their worldly experiences children acquire cultural knowledge with which they construct meanings and learn to understand meanings conveyed to them by other members of their culture. The transmission of acquired cultural knowledge may vary from culture to culture but "every culture includes ways to 'enculturate' the young or the newcomer" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, p. 37). In our society the school systems are one means by which adults enculturate the young. Although influential, the school system as a culture does not transmit all cultural knowledge explicitly to children.

Cultural rules provide the basis for organized human behavior and consistent interpretation of experience but they do not insure rigid conformity. People are not pawns of their culture. (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, p. 29)

Although very little knowledge arises directly from personal experience only, it should be noted that because humans are different from one another they interpret their experiences accordingly. The old expression experience is the best teacher implies that humans are

capable of grasping experiences with meaning; that people can interpret their common sense world so that its actions, objects and events make sense. As children interpret a situation they actively construct meaning about it. Most cultural knowledge is acquired within a context where the meaning has a sense of being shared with others (Dobbert, 1982; Geertz, 1973; Henry, 1960; Schutz, 1973; Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). The varied enculturation experiences of different members of a culture, the vast differences among children's life styles and social contexts create a variety of effects on individual interpretations of experience and social behavior, resulting in somewhat diverse cultural patterns that still somehow fit into a harmonious whole; that is, a classroom of children fit together into a functional social unit.

When one does not follow the cultural rules for behavior there are conflicts but such conflicts are usually insufficient to disturb the equilibrium of the culture. A strong undercurrent of expecting uniformity persistently surfaces in the tendency to label children who differ from most as abnormal. For example, if a student is not fitting in, adults subtly transfer the burden of guilt to the child by labelling him or her deviant. Cultural rules are based upon a normative perspective in which individuality is only permitted within culturally defined parameters of acceptable social behavior. When these arbitrary parameters are breached the individual, not the culture, is generally seen to be wrong. Living within any social group apparently means coping with other members of that group, adapting to and managing within its arbitrary social boundaries even though members

of a group do not have identical perspectives. Each person uses "interpretive and experiential contexts of a unique biography" to view events (Luckmann, 1983, p. 67). In other words, humans seem to define contextual meanings through the interpretation of the actions or assumed intended actions of others in that social group.

Contextual Meanings

Contextual meanings provide cultural lenses through which one looks at the taken-for-granted experiences of the everyday world. Once contextual meaning has been assigned to an event, an object, or a symbol, the contextual meaning can be considered a concept. According to Spradley and McCurdy (1975) "symbols and concepts occur together in a complex relationship; without meaning the sounds, objects, and events of our experience are not symbols" (p. 22). Symbols can be created by one person and they can be recognized by another person; symbols are used for one person to convey a message and for another person to receive the message. Children learn to use different types of symbols as they build concepts of their lived-in world. Concepts are tools to think with which are then interpreted through verbal or nonverbal symbol formations. In other words, an individual initially interprets a symbol, then checks out that interpretation of the concept for meaning. An example: My four-year-old grandson and I were out together. We had just made bus connections. After we had taken our seats I said to Jeremy, "I'm glad we caught this bus; it only runs every hour." Jeremy laughed and said, "You're only joking me, right grandma? Buses don't have legs!" He thought I had made a fine joke for him, after all,

everybody knows "buses don't have legs." Jeremy's interpretation of the word run included a taken-for-granted meaning that made sense to him. The taken-for-granted meanings of symbols and concepts assist members of a particular culture to understand the ways in which general characteristics of intentions or expectations are expressed (Schutz, 1964). Differences in meaning between concepts are signalled by the attributes that people associate with them. "An attribute can be defined as an element of information that is regularly associated with a concept" (Spradley and McCurdy, 1975, p. 94). Perhaps another example will clarify the different attributes associated with an object and the different concepts evoked. Take the word strawberry; for some people it evokes the attributes red, sweet, juicy, summer, while for others it evokes allergies, hives, pain, scratching. The word strawberry is the same but the attributes are different. Meaning, therefore, is not a static characteristic of individual words.

In order to facilitate the grasping of common conceptual meanings, people utilize a categorization process by which different objects and events are grouped together and treated as if they were equivalent (Bogdan, 1983; Dobbert, 1982; Goetz & LeCompte, 1981; Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). The dimensions of a category deal with the similarities within a category, what Spradley and McCurdy (1975) term inclusion, whereas category boundaries or contrast sets are organized by the differences or exclusion between categories. For example, the dimensions of an art materials set may include many types of supplies: paper, paint, crayons, clay. Whereas a contrast set of musical

instruments would be excluded from an art material set. The social use of categorization is an arbitrary process which assists people to simplify their lived-in world by making it known (Stake, 1978). Categorization is apparent in schools. For example, the classroom is filled with children usually admitted by chronological age limits and adult standards of academic achievement. Each child is an individual but grouped into a grade set, Grade One. Once a categorization has been made of the children, expectations can be made of their social behavior within the context of the classroom. Of course, every set of categories contains sub-sets. Within a Grade One class for example will be students who fit various mini-categories such as behavioral problem, very bright, immature, underprivileged, English as a second language student and other educational terms that assist adults with the pinpointing of educational expectations. Although categorization is an arbitrary process it is not utilized randomly. There is a method (not always explicitly stated) in the procedure of assigning meaning to the world and the assigned meanings tend to remain consistent over time (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). If one studied the social structure of Grade One classes over many years the categories of age-grouping and academic standards would give an appearance of remaining consistent. If categorization changes had occurred they would have the appearance of not having happened randomly but in a systematic way that consistently assigned meaning to the revisions by providing a basis for changing the original category (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975).

Summation: Analysing Social Situations

In the preceding section two universal uses of culture, interpreting experience and generating social behavior, were discussed as one means of analysing social situations. With these cultural universals, people acquire knowledge with which they construct and categorize contextual meanings of their taken-for-granted everyday experiences. Because cultural knowledge is learned and shared, the universal uses of culture provide a useful way of analysing and understanding social situations (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975).

Design

The inquiry into the culture of one art classroom will attempt to preserve the children's forms of reasoning and reconstruction of experiences "by displaying the world as it is revealed by them and by creating a mode of theorizing in keeping with the distinct features of their culture" (Silver, 1975, p. 47).

The Selection of a Study Sample

The primary purpose of research, according to Best (1977), is to discover "principles that have universal application but to study a whole population . . . would be impractical, if not impossible" (p. 267). For example, before I would have time to discover how all grade one children acquire knowledge in an art classroom, the members of the classes would change. Therefore, I took the opportunity to study a group of available children who would, I assumed, have characteristics in common with other grade one students. The group of grade one children selected for interpretive analysis is a small proportion

of a far greater number of children enrolled within grade one programs in Alberta elementary schools.

The elementary school chosen for this research study has an enrollment population of 147 students. The majority of the students are of Caucasian, middle-class socio-economic backgrounds. At the onset of this study I sought opportunities to practise my observation skills so I attended as many art classes as I could in order to practise these skills and to decide which class I would continue to research. After a month in the school, I felt I was more participant-observer in one of the classes than the other four and could manage the amount of data produced from this class.

The design is seemingly very simple. At the same time, on the same day each week, with the same group of children and the same teacher, I would observe the same grade one art classroom for a total of twenty-six art classes. The research study was undertaken in a classroom with eighteen children; nine girls and nine boys. I used pseudonyms for all proper names except my own in this study. With the exception of one field trip to the Art Gallery, all the art classes were held in the home room or the school's designated art room.

The Classroom (Appendix 1)

As you enter through the bright orange door you notice the seven tall windows along the far wall of the room. Running along under these windows is a double shelf of books, papers, art materials, puzzles and other educational paraphernalia. Atop this shelf are green plants, children's art products and reproductions of professional

artists' work. At the end of the shelf rests a large globe of the world. In the far corner of the room an area (3 metres square) is carpeted with a brown tweed rug and seems separated from the remainder of the room by a bookshelf on one side and a piano on the other side. The piano is piled high with music books, art work and various school supplies. Between the piano and the small sink in the classroom is a long, red, wooden table set about with child-sized chairs; some are brightly painted and some have wooden seats and backrests with metal-tubing frames. Next to the sink area the teacher's desk is separated from the children's coat rack by a supply cupboard with a large paper cutter resting on top of it. Nestled in the area near the front of the room are the children's desks, arranged to face inward while forming a large square of study space. While no one is completely separated from anyone else, everybody can operate in an area of relative privacy and small groups can work comfortably. When Ms G. talks to the whole class, the children gather on the carpeted area. The walls of the classroom display children's art work, hung almost casually. The walls also abound with animal alphabets, counting lines, vowel and consonant charts, and colored cats labelled with the appropriate color name. There is a pulldown film screen above the chalkboard which covers the front classroom wall. The chalkboard ledge contains a variety of colored and white chalks, several chalk brushes and a chalkboard liner. Above the orange doorway hangs an electric clock and next to this clock is a display of three clock faces drawn upon yellow tagboard; morning recess is labelled, visually demonstrated and the hands of the clock

are stationary at 10:30 (the other two faces are similarly displayed for lunchtime and afternoon recess).

The Art Room (Appendix 2)

As you leave the classroom to go to the art room you notice the children's art work displayed on the hallway walls giving a colorful, cheerful atmosphere to the school. Walking down the hallway past open classroom doorways, through which the sights and sounds of children and teachers provide a tone of busy aliveness, you come to the two stairwells leading down—one set leads to the art room, the other leads to the school library. You go down nine marble steps, pausing at the landing, then you go down the four final steps and walk into the art room. Child-decorated garbage cans sit on the tiled floor all in a row ready to be moved wherever needed. Seven arborite-topped tables take up the middle space of this large room that runs the width of the school. The shelves, storage cupboards and wall units that take up two walls seem full to overflowing with supplies and artwork while the front wall houses two sinks and a meshed-in area for the kiln. Along the remaining wall hang pinboards and chalkboards under which rest three, brightly painted, benches each a foot high and three feet long. Over the entrance hangs yet another electric clock. It is in these two rooms that the data for this research were gathered, in the real world of children, after appropriate liaison and practical, cooperative arrangements had been made and, of course, formal permission secured.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has dealt with the theoretical framework and design of the study. The stance taken in the theoretical framework presupposes that much of what goes on in any social situation is extraordinary because of the unique and arbitrary nature of everyday behavior that is taken-for-granted. Acquired cultural knowledge was described and illustrated at two levels, the explicit and the tacit. Reference was made to one approach used by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) to analyse human cultures, that is to establish the universal uses of cultural knowledge by participants in a cultural context. The design of the study attempts to preserve children's forms of reasoning and reconstruction of experience through observations and conversations. The classroom selected for study was done so opportunistically, that is, it was available and I felt comfortable with the participants.

Chapter IV

THE SELECTION OF METHODOLOGY

The choice of any research question places limits on the knowledge which may emerge. When a researcher selects a problem, the choice of specific types of knowledge is embodied in the perception of the situation. Selectivity cannot be avoided and is essential in clarifying the kind of work that may be accomplished, the stance that may be postulated and the questions asked. As Kuhn (1970) has so persuasively argued, research paradigms; that is, accepted models or patterns, gain their status because "they are more successful than their competitors in solving a few problems that the group of practitioners has come to recognize as acute" (p. 23). Knowledge emerging from any one perspective is only partial. No one perspective of research can reflect all the aspects of a situation which are open to investigation. Since the purpose of this study is to discover the child's viewpoint of an art classroom it seems reasonable to choose a method of research that will permit such an approach.

Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research is an approach which allows the researcher to be immersed in the daily workings of a classroom to discover the acquired knowledge of the participants. A major principle of ethnographic research aims at presenting a culture as it appears to the participants; to examine how the taken-for-granted, common sense,

everyday world is experienced from the perspectives of those inside the culture (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Comitas & Dolgin, 1978; Dobbert, 1982; Schutz, 1973; Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). Ethnographers assume that individuals have meaning structures that influence much of their behavior (Wilson, 1977). To understand the insiders' interpretations it is necessary to question the taken-for-granted idealizations which structure daily classroom life. Such questioning of the taken-for-granted reality is in agreement with a suspending, or bracketing, of preconceptions (Wilson, 1977). Such bracketing will also bring to question the epoche of the natural attitude (Schutz, 1973) which suggests that humans unconsciously take for granted the structure of their daily life and suspend awareness of any other point of view. In order to understand any social reality one must not eliminate other viewpoints but one must be open to a deliberate and conscious effort to bracket or suspend particular beliefs or knowledge. To be in a state of doubt allows the researcher to question that the world of the classroom and its objects might be otherwise than it appears. Ethnographic research is an approach which permits the researcher to be immersed in the daily events of a classroom to uncover the workings of its system in terms of their meaning structures that determine much of the participants' behavior (Wilson, 1977).

While ethnography may be specific to anthropological studies, Dobbert (1982) notes that it offers a way to get at data needed for educational questions by utilizing the basic characteristics of anthropological research:

[Researchers], guided by the culture concept, use themselves as instruments to gather data on beliefs, interrelationships,

and material objects. . . . They pick out patterns in the data and show how those patterns systematically interrelate to form a whole. It is this that constitutes understanding from an anthropological point of view. . . . These general characteristics of anthropology are built into its ethnographic method. (p. 11)

The essence of the above mentioned approach is careful observation, guided by informed questions and followed by generalizations (Dobbert, 1982). Generalizations are made possible because people's behavioral patterns come to be orderly and sensible through the availability of shared symbolic meaning systems (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). Symbolic meaning systems provide a framework for understanding cultural knowledge which consists of symbols and concepts merged into categorizations.

Grouping things into categories provides a basis for constructing generalizations about them. Generalizations noted by the ethnographer are based upon the grouping of observed facts then retested through further observation and submission to informants to check if such descriptions accurately portray the intended meaning of the experience. These repeated procedures may lead to a consensus of shared experience or it may lead to various viewpoints of the experience or it may uncover a unique experience.

Selected Procedures for Ethnography

To analyse the participants' interpretations and social behavior within one art classroom, I utilized three methods of data collection to reconstruct the everyday, taken-for-granted, worldly experiences of the participants. The three methods were (a) participant observation, (b) ethnographic interview and (c) documentation. Descriptions of

each method of data collection follow.

Participant observation. This unique method of inquiry serves the dual purposes of permitting the researcher to engage in appropriate cultural activities while at the same time allowing an opportunity to observe the behaviors of people within the research setting (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). Because experience is found in the taken-for-granted setting of everyday living it is to be studied there; in other words, ethnographic research is field based. This reflects Hill-Burnett's (1979) stance that the researcher must be present to collect the data within the situation.

Both in order to see the events and to find out how the participants interpret them, the ethnographer does participant observation. The participant observer's procedure involves using oneself as an instrument of data collection. (p. 243)

To become an instrument of data collection one must enter the culture to observe behaviors and to ask questions of the culture members. Entering a culture means more than obtaining permission to carry on the research within a situation and is more than physically being in that social situation. To enter into a culture "involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously" (Spradley, 1980, p. 57). In other words, as a non-member of the art classroom I was immersed in the daily events of the classroom in order to discover the participants' points of view. I attempted to discover the perspectives and knowledge shared by members by becoming, in part, a member of the classroom. Ethnographic researchers attempt to increase their introspectiveness, that is, they consciously consider the tacit knowledge of a situation. Ethnographic

researchers learn to use themselves as a research instrument by refusing to take experiences for granted, therefore, introspectiveness becomes a tool of the trade to use to acquire cultural knowledge.

With no prior definition of what is problematic to any one child, I was at liberty to approach any routine, taken-for-granted event and ask "What is going on here?". To be sure, although I did not enter the classroom with specific, predetermined questions, I did have a theoretical framework (page 15) that directed me to certain experiences of children through focused conversations and interviews.

Participant observation enables the research worker to secure his data within the mediums, symbols and experiential worlds which have meaning to his respondents. Its intent is to prevent imposing alien meanings upon the actions of the subjects. (Vidich, 1969, p. 79)

Field entry. In order to carry on research in a school system several formal steps were necessary. A research request form (Appendix 3) was obtained on my behalf by my research advisor from the School Liaison Officer at the University of Alberta. This form was completed and submitted for approval to the Edmonton Public School System. Upon receipt of written approval, I contacted the principal of the selected school in order to obtain final approval and to make the necessary arrangements for conducting the study.

The fact that I entered into this art classroom as a participant observer precludes that I violated, in some manner, the normal patterns of action existing among the children, Ms G. (the teacher) and any assisting adult volunteers. I had to overcome being a stranger and become part of the classroom landscape.

The establishment of a collegial relationship with Ms G. came

easily and we agreed that publicly acknowledging my status as "someone from the university interested in children's art" would provide a role for me while minimizing any disruptive effect upon the class as a whole. We also agreed that prior to visiting I would verify each arrangement to observe in the classroom.

The appropriate liaison and practical, cooperative arrangements had been completed, formal permission secured, and introductions made. Now came my first day of doing participant observation. I wondered nervously how things would go during the art class.

I entered the classroom, made my presence known to Ms G., and greeted the children. The children seemed to see my role as another teacher aide. This concurs with Vidich's (1969) theory that participants of any research form an image of the researcher and use that image as a basis of response. From the very first art lesson the children came to me for assistance, anything from doing up zippers on boots and jackets to threading needles for sewing or buttoning up paint shirts. The children seemed unabashed by the presence of a strange adult eavesdropping on their conversations during class time. For example, on 17 November, 1983, as I was assisting some children making gingerbread ornaments, the following conversation was overheard:

Grace: I can make hundreds of cookies.

Doris: Yeah, me too. These cookies taste good. I like to taste it now. (Puts a bit of raw cookie dough into her mouth and eats it.)

Grace: Don't eat it. It will make you sick. My mom said so.

Doris: Not me it don't. Once my sister was babysitting me and made some cookie dough. So I got some and she said, "Whose finger prints are on this cookie dough?" Then she printed my finger and said, "Ah ha! I thought that was you!".

It was interesting how the girls listened to each other and made conversational offerings to each other while sharing reflections about cookie dough within the context of their own homelife. I apparently did not hinder this social relationship at all for they seemed to ignore my presence at their table.

It was not until the sixth art period (08 December, 1983) that I felt completely accepted as revealed in the following manner. Ralph had been lying beside a stuffed bear. He came over to where I was sitting and stood cuddling the bear.

Ralph: Can we sit on your lap?

(R): Sure, I'll lift you up.

Ralph snuggled into my lap while holding the bear closely.

Ralph: You have a nice lap.

(R): Well, it gets lots of practice. My grandson likes to cuddle. Do you like to cuddle?

Ralph: Uh huh . . . Yeah, it's so nice. (He sits upright, looks directly at me.) Do you know how to cuddle bears?

(R): I suppose so.

Ralph slides off my lap and lifts the bear up to me. I hold the bear in both arms and begin to rock him from side to side.

Ralph: No, no. That's not the way he likes to cuddle. Give him here.

I hand over the stuffed bear into Ralph's outstretched arms. Ralph lifts the bear up to his right shoulder, right arm securely around the bear and rocks the bear gently.

Ralph: See, this is the way he likes to. O.K.?

(R): O.K., I'll just try it again.

Ralph: That's just good. Now we can both cuddle. (Smiling

happily, he wiggles his way backwards into my lap and cuddles in beside the stuffed bear.)

It was at this point in time, where so much trust was offered, that I felt a wonderful sense of belonging in the classroom. Of course, the assimilation into a plausible role did not imply that I was a total participant in the experiential world of a child because I will nevermore be a child, but I could be categorized as a child-friendly adult in the everyday world of the art classroom.

The social role of the participant observer creates various demands upon the researcher (Agar, 1980; Bogdan, 1983; Cicourel, 1964; Dobbert, 1982; Gold, 1969; Vidich, 1969). A researcher acts within a cultural framework to which responsibilities, privileges and obligations are attached. While a participant observer cannot be everything to everyone "he routinely tries to fit himself into as many roles as he can, as long as playing them helps him to develop relationships with informants" (Gold, 1969, p. 32). My own role in the classroom fluctuated. Sometimes I was a participant totally involved with the classroom activities, sometimes I was an observer standing back unobtrusively observing the classroom activities. For the majority of the time, my role was a combination, or a blending, of participant and observer.

The ethnographic interview. In order to understand the phenomena that are being observed, an ethnographer raises questions about the situation. The interview techniques I used in order to gather primary data are typically narrative descriptions based on conversational interaction. The conversations took place within the classroom and

provide child-constructed interpretations of the art experiences.

During this study, I, as an interviewer, considered several effects my presence could have on the children. I was physically bigger and taller than any child in the classroom; therefore, I avoided towering over them, looking down at them from a confrontation position. Whenever I talked with the children I managed to get down to their height by squatting, sitting beside them, or sitting on the floor. The tone of voice seems to be another important consideration when talking with children (Armstrong, 1980; Burton, 1981; Davies, 1980; Delamont, 1976; Ecker, 1973). I never consciously spoke to a child in a disparaging manner during this study.

In order to establish a common ground on which the children and I could communicate, I used the children's language as often as possible. I assumed it to be inappropriate to utilize a jargon-filled discourse with grade one children. I took it for granted that "Can you construct a taxonomy regarding the attributes of creating art in grade one?" would not be as effective as asking "What is art?" which resulted in the following responses:

"You make it . . . like pictures and stuff."

"Pictures . . . drawing with crayons."

"You paint."

"It's fun!"

"We make masks and . . . some sculptures."

"It's easy. If you don't know, just ask."

"I like the weaving."

In formulating questions I recalled Bogdan and Taylor's (1975) caution

that there are few exact rules offered to help interviewers in this type of research. I had to consider the effect of the topic chosen, my physical presence and the language I used while attempting to slip in unobtrusively to share a child's interest and activity.

In addition to the above considerations I had a choice of open or closed, direct or indirect questions. A closed question usually requires an explicit answer, a yes-no response is often appropriate; e.g., "Do you like the color red?" An open question, or a grand tour question (Spradley, 1980), such as "Can you tell me what you do in an art classroom?" requires more reflection on the part of the child being interviewed. Grand tour questions can become starting points for discussion and also provide a child's interpretation of the situation. Direct questions assume that the child knows more or less what is being asked. Indirect questions, such as, "How does a new student know what to do in the art room?" deal with tacit knowledge and are more open to a child's interpretation of how they make sense of the art room.

During the interview sessions, I assumed that the children would interact in the manner I had intended. I had taken for granted that these children were used to doing what they were asked to do by adults. Perhaps this was the major reason they agreed to participate in the interviews and answer my many questions.

When I first began asking questions I had only a few general questions to ask the children. As their responses lead me to more and more questions I recalled Spradley's (1980) very good advice; "Don't get trapped into the impossibility of finding every possible difference

or you will delay the completion of your project" (p. 129). This is a problematic situation in the field. Lair (1972) refers to Sir Jean Eddinton's suggestion to imagine that you were asked to describe marine life and you were given a net with two-inch mesh. You would cast it into the ocean and pull it out. Then with the specimens you had, you would describe marine life. Well, immediately you can see the problem. You lose all marine life smaller than two inches. It's obvious that you can't do it that way. But the point is, no matter how fine a mesh you use in your net, you're still missing some things. So it is for the participant observer; it is impossible for any individual to comprehend all the meanings in any setting.

Documentation. Documentation of data was collected in conjunction with the participant observation and interviewing. Slides of students' art work and sections of the curriculum guide provide cultural artifacts. Diagrams of the classrooms were drawn. Additional verbal data were gathered as ethnographic details, descriptive statements that make sense of their situation. According to Leiter (1971) ethnographic details "locate the particular sense of the talk for the participants" (p. 31). For example, when I asked, "What happens to an unfinished picture when it's time to go?" a young child answered confidently, "You just do it another time, that's all." In other words, ethnographic details are the recording of interpretations made by the members of the culture under study (Werner & Rothe, 1980). In addition, ethnographic details are a major source of documentation as descriptive statements about features of the context; that is, the physical setting, the members involved and the patterns of behavior

observed. Since one of the major principles in the ethnographic approach to research aims at presenting a culture as it appears to the participants, ethnographic details seem important in discovering the meaning of cultural context. The importance of ethnographic details raises another consideration; the participants' use of tacit knowledge to provide cultural interpretations.

In pursuing this study, it soon became apparent that the raw data; that is, the observation of situational behaviors, would have to be analysed in some way, otherwise the gathered material while interesting would be of little use. The difficult problem was not collecting the data but rather making sense of it. I had to go beyond description to provide an interpretation of the observed cultural events.

The children, responding in their own words to my questions, provided me with their picture of what the situation was like. Using these responses, I could begin searching through my transcripts for categories. As Spradley and McCurdy (1975) caution, "categories are not given to us 'carte blanche'; they are inventions of ways to classify and organize experience" (p. 25). I chose to use the children's responses to generate categories as they were suggested through the interviews.

Interviewing followed by categorization led to further questions which led to further elaboration of my categorization system. I reevaluated categories on the basis of new interviews, modifying categories when they appeared to be inconsistent with the collected data. The categorization was an ongoing process because it seemed

meaningful to construct at the time the patterns of behavior which seemed to be interrelated with the existing organization of knowledge and the predictability of social behavior within the context of the art classroom.

Descriptive Procedures for Analysing Data

The analyses of the data collected during this study pertaining to a grade one art class incorporated a two-step procedure. The first step was an ongoing process throughout the entire study whereas the second step followed the completion of observational visits.

The First Step in Analysis

The information used was derived from the classroom participants with careful attention given to the ongoing social situation. It should be noted here, that while I feel this analysis reflects an important aspect of the culture of the classroom, the process by which I reached decisions for inferring categorizations and reconstructions from the data is not made completely explicit. I defined and used categories as they were generated by observations, modifying them when they appeared to be inconsistent with the evidence. This ongoing interpretation of data coincides with Vidich's (1969) premise that:

Perspectives and perceptions of social reality are shaped by the social position and interests of both the observed and the observer as they live through a passing present . . . The social positions of the observer and the observed and the relationship between them at the time must be taken into account when the data is interpreted. (p. 86)

I have included examples of data which will presumably give the

reader insights similar to my interpretations presented in this study. While I cannot explicate the total process by which I made decisions, it is important to know that there was a process involved. The following are examples of the process of analysis I used in the study.

Field notes. Field notes were jotted down when I was observing the children. These condensed notes consisted of key words that would indicate the categories of experience, definitions and responses.

01 Dec., 1983. Nutcracker Suite - discussion display of four nutcrackers on desk drawing lesson - Ms G. "see it, draw it" white girl "I need skin color." negro boy "Use mine" - pink marker.

Later, as the field notes were reviewed, they were expanded and completed. Any reconsiderations and additions were placed in the commentary section of my day-to-day diary as suggested by Dobbert (1982) to allow anyone reading the diary to distinguish between the field notes proper and the later additions:

01 Dec., 1983 (Tues.) 1045-1145

The class had discussed the "Nutcracker Suite" presented in music and language arts. Ms G. instructed them to sit at their desks and draw one of the four nutcrackers on display.

Ms G.: If you can see it, you can draw it.

Tom: O.K. if I use felts?

Ms G.: For coloring? O.K.

The children were occupied with this art task when one white girl said, "I need skin color. Who's got skin color?"

school policy
integration of
curriculum
the children

assumed shared
knowledge

Did Tom want to draw
with felts?

Rita

A negro boy replied, "I got
skin color, here, use mine."
It was a pink felt marker.

Ralph. Why pink
why not brown or
black?

During the review of field notes, it is very important to look for inferences, indicating the acquisition of tacit cultural knowledge. The example above is an unforeseen inferential event in which acquired tacit knowledge characterizes by inference; that is, a pink creamy complexion becomes the standard by which all other skin tones should be judged (Coles, 1967).

While reviewing my field notes I also scrutinized them for vague notations such as:

Boy rebuked by teacher.

Who? How? Why?

Vague field notes should be replaced by descriptive, concrete notes as follows:

Sam was not sitting up in the circle
of children, rather he was lying on the
rug stroking a stuffed bear.

Ms G.: (to the circle of children) Do
you know that you have an eyeball?

Sam: (rolled over onto his back and shouted)
Yeah!

Ms G.: Leave! Right now. Get up and get out!

The above reconstruction gives the reader much more information than the terse notation: Boy rebuked by teacher.

Documented material can also be utilized for double-checking explanations and interpretations of particular issues and for the comparison of answers among participants:

29 Nov., 1983 1045-1145

Observation:

What is this?

Alice: Look, Ms G., no counting today.

Check it.

Ms G.: Good, I was on recess duty

The next art class I followed up on the commentary notation "Check it" from my day-to-day diary.

91 Dec., 1983 1045-1145

Observation:

After morning recess the children enter the classroom singly or with a small clutch of friends. Talking and giggling noticeable. Children hung up their coats or jackets, picked up their shoes and proceeded to the carpet area. They sat down and put on their shoes, then got into a circular formation. Various sitting positions were noted: cross-legged, kneeling, sitting with legs extended forward. Some children sat with their bottoms on the rug holding their knees up under their chin. Other children joined the chattering group as they came back from recess. For no apparent reason the children began to count in unison. They continued to count until Ms G. came in and joined the circle. The counting stopped at 71.

I waited until after the art instruction had been completed and the children were working at the assignment and then I proceeded to interview the children.

(R): Why do you go and sit in a circle on the carpet right after recess?

Looking at the familiar as unfamiliar; not taken-for-granted.

Tom: To see how fast the people can get to the carpet.

(R): How does counting help that?

Tom: Well, like, how long it takes. After we count we are all ready (smiles at me) see?

Bruce: Well, to see if somebody's late.

(R): Do all classes do this?

Bruce: What?

(R): Have counting circles?

Bruce: No.

Various responses followed further questioning about this particular behavior.

(R): Why were you counting until Ms G. came at 71?

Doris: That was time limits.

(R): Time limits? What does that mean?

Doris: Well, if we get to 100 they have to have a DT.

(R): DT? What's that?

Sam: A detention! (rather impatiently)

(R): What's a detention?

Sam: (Sighs) You have to stay with the teacher a little bit longer.

(R): Why do you count on the rug?

Grace: Cause you have to time people.

(R): Who said?

Grace: No . . . but . . . so did Ms G., if she's on the rug and we're not ready and . . . whoever the last is the count.

(R): So what happens if it's over 100 for Ms G.?

Ralph: She gets a DT.

(R): Who gives her a DT?

Ralph: What? Mmm. Mr. Rich! (principal)

(R) Has Ms G. ever been over 100?

Ralph: No . . . but, but, I know she'll get a DT!

Cross-checking with other participants about set time limit of 100 and

the consequences, that is a detention.

(R): You go over on the rug and start to count. Why?

Sally: You have to count to see if people are ready.

(R): What is the number you're supposed to be there by?

Sally: One of the numbers, mmm . . . well over 60 . . .
I think oh! 100! but I'm not late.

(R): You've never been over 100?

Sally: (shakes head) No, never.

(R): What happens if Ms G. gets over 100?

Sally: She gets a detention.

(R): Who would give her a detention?

Sally: I don't know . . . somebody.

Theresa: Mr. Rich.

(R): Why would Mr. Rich give Ms G. a detention?

Theresa: Cause she's got over 100.

(R): Why couldn't you give her a detention?

Theresa: Cause we're too small.

(R): Then why could Mr. Rich give her one?

Theresa: Cause he . . . because he is the principal!
(looks at me in a puzzled fashion)

When I interviewed Allen and then Eli their interpretations of the counting behavior were different from the previous examples.

(R): Why did you go to the rug and start to count?

Allen: Because when you get to that number.

(R): What number is that?

Allen: Uh . . . 100 . . . it matters how long a person takes in their coat and boots and stuff.

(R): So the magic number is 100?

(Allen nods his head.)

(R): What if Ms G. is over 100?

Allen: It goes up to 108 or 109, I guess.

(R): Who changes the rules about what number it is?

Allen: No one, you just count until she comes.

(R): Eli, this morning I noticed that Ms G. came in at 71. What happens if it goes over 100? Would she get a detention or more numbers or what?

Eli: (Tips his head to the side and looks rather scornfully at me.) It's only on the small kids.

The ethnographic details in the above excerpt indicate that the children apparently accepted the circle as rule bound. With few exceptions the children thought that all rule breakers would be punished specifically by detention. However, through double-checking the explanations and interpretations of this particular cultural event discrepancies do appear in the answers of the participants. Why did some of the children say different things? When contradictory statements show up during review of field notes, who should be believed? It would seem an impossibility to average out the comments of the children in order to arrive at an 'average' truth. Perhaps one must reexamine the perspectives of the participants since they bring a frame of reference to the event (Wilson, 1977). It is vital to understand the way in which people define their situation (Schutz, 1973). What might appear to be false or inconsistent according to my perspectives and interpretations as a researcher may not be so according to the participants' perspectives. As an ethnographic researcher I must bracket my interpretations and attempt to view the

responses through the eyes of the participants. Everything is a subject of inquiry. For instance, the consequences of being late to the circle:

- (R):~ What happens if someone's late?
 Doris: They have to have a DT.
 Sam: A detention.
- (R): When does a detention happen?
 Sally: One of the numbers . . . I think . . . oh! 100.
 Doris: Well, if we get to 100 they have to have a DT.
- (R): What happens if Ms G. gets over 100?
 Sally: She gets a detention.
 Ralph: I know she'll get a DT.
 Allen: You just count until she comes.
 Eli: It's only on the small kids.

The excerpts reveal a contrast of interpretation regarding the consequences of being late. Apparently some of the children's views could be characterized as egocentric or as naive realism which assumes that the rule about being late applies to all members of the art classroom equally. Other children seem to have acquired what Piaget might consider to be a more mature accommodation of the situation in that they seem to recognize and be aware of decisions affecting their lives which are made by other people. For example, the children had no apparent input to either the rules or the routine of the circle event in this classroom.

Alternate data gathering processes. During this study I found myself in agreement with Fetterman's (1980) notation:

It is impossible to record accurately long verbatim quotations by hand and simultaneously maintain a natural flow of conversation and a healthy rapport with informants. (p. 44)

Some interviews were recorded on a small cassette tape recorder.

I used my tape recorder only with a participant's consent. Certain

limitations to recording in the classroom became apparent as soon as I attempted to transcribe the first period of observation. My cassette was an indiscriminate recording device picking up every sound within its range. The background noise and jumble of voices made transcription extremely difficult, frustrating and time consuming. Thereafter, I used my cassette tape recorder on a one-to-one basis for interviews but even then the background noise was a detrimental factor. Because transcribing the tapes was very tedious only certain segments were selected for transcription as suggested by Fetterman (1980) and Pelto and Pelto (1978).

Summary field notes. Compiling field notes was an ongoing process during the study. After the initial entries were made, they were open to review and, if necessary, revision with any changes explained. The completed field notes are composed of data providing a detailed description of the social situation under investigation.

The Final Step in Analysis

After the completion of the fieldwork the material collected was then used as a basis for the final analysis of data. All data were re-examined to discover information about the acquired cultural knowledge the participant utilized in describing classroom events. Based on recurring patterns of social behavior which emerged from the data, various categories were selected to facilitate the final data analysis for this study.

Analysis of data required that I reflect upon and interpret the collected materials since there are many suggestive categories

within the collected data that could be analysed. It was impractical to fully extrapolate every category gleaned from the study when analysing data; therefore, some things were left unstated. For example, I did not categorize the children's interpretation of the teacher's behavior regarding the event of calling on students. How children typify the teacher's behavior for getting responses from them remains a question for another study.

The selection of categories. It may be asked how the selection of categories was derived and I cannot give explicit answers. To speak through these reconstructions of ethnographic details requires an interpretive judgment on my part in that the categories identified provide descriptions of how the participants apparently view their cultural scene within the unit of analysis (Leiter, 1971). As explained by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) "Categories are not given to us 'carte blanche,' they are inventions of ways to classify and organize experience" (p. 25).

I began searching through my transcripts for category terms, which are defined by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) as "linguistic labels for large categories" (p. 79). These terms provided me with categorizations with which I could attempt to discover the classificatory principle behind each large category revealed. This discovery process, according to Dobbert (1982) contains two separate activities, seeking definitions (or terms) and uncovering relationships between categories.

Definitions are sought through questions to bring out the dimension of a category and to find its boundaries. Relationships are uncovered through comparative or taxonomic questions. (p. 13)

I became aware that my field notes often provided common-sense responses to my questions. For example, in order to discover the reasons students had for doing art I asked the open question "Why do you do art?"

"Because it's art time."

"Ms G. said do art, so we do."

"I like it lots. I can draw at home, too."

"You're supposed to."

"Well . . . I think . . . well, we have two pieces of paper."

"It's fun."

"I'm good at art. I try hard."

Several categories of response could be classified from these answers; for example, time, following rules, or personal enjoyment. A possible cover term for the encounter might be "art is fun." In addition, the responses generated can be grouped together "reasons for doing art" which would then make up a cultural domain or "major subsystem of a group's acquired knowledge. It consists of a class of objects or events that share at least one feature of meaning that differentiates it from other domains" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, pp. 77-78). The cultural domain "reasons for doing art" would presumably differ in meaning from the cultural domain "what happens at recess." Since not all cultural domains have linguistic labels I had to be observant enough to notice the things tacitly treated as similar but not grouped together explicitly (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975).

Once a cultural domain is identified there is still the problem of interpretation. According to Bogdan (1975) "not only do people

interpret things differently, they focus their attention on different things" (p. 10). For example, during the only field trip to the Art Gallery (March 15, 1984) it became increasingly apparent that the children, in contrast to the adult assistants, assumed that the folk art and the folk artists were old. A sample of the answers I received to the question "Why is this display called 'folk art'?" illustrates some of their tacit understanding of this social situation as they engaged in it.

Louise: Oh, mmm, he was made a long time ago.

Frank: Because it's very old. They used it when they're old folksy people.

John: Old work . . . it's made by people who want to.

Sally: Somebody made it by themselves. There aren't any more.

(R): No more folk art?

Sally: No. No more of this rocking horse (emphasis on this) . . . it's the only one. A baby used this cause it's little. It's very old you know.

Allen: Somebody been working on it . . . hard . . . it's very old.

(R): Does folk art have to be old?

Marg: Yeah. Uh huh. That's why you call it folk!

The children apparently felt free to use a transitive inference to categorize their knowledge in order to make sense of the situation. The categorization of old seemed a reasonable assumption on their part. The folk familiar to them probably related to such occasions as "We're visiting with the folks this weekend" or "Uncle Ned lives in an old folks home" or hearing folk tales read to them. The folk in all these contexts is designated as old.

The tacit domains of a culture are important investigations if one is to gain familiarity with the culture under study because this structure of "the cultural knowledge is often taken for granted, tacit knowledge that remains outside their awareness" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, p. 87).

People all use categorization processes to group objects and events in order to make sense of their world. Dobbert (1982) and Spradley and McCurdy (1975) when discussing categorization, note the dimensions of a category relate to the similarities within a group whereas the boundaries of a category are organized by the differences or exclusions between categories. By locating cover terms, that is, labels for large categories, one can identify arising cultural domains within a culture. After identifying a cultural domain "the next step is to discover the taxonomic structures of the domain in question" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975, p. 89).

Taxonomic structures. The purpose of a taxonomy is not to describe all meanings but merely to uncover relationships among the things within a cultural domain based on a particular arrangement of categories (Dobbert, 1982; Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). There are various kinds of taxonomic structures available to the ethnographic researcher for analysing cultural situations. Ethnographic researchers may construct taxonomies from the terms used by the members of a particular culture or they may use their own terminology to construct their taxonomies (Spradley, 1980). The taxonomic structure I chose for the analysis of data in this study of both explicit and tacit cultural knowledge is an adaptation of Spradley's two levels of

knowledge (see Figure 1) which illustrates the relationship between interpreting experience and generating social behavior. The taxonomy will be explained more fully in the following chapter.

Chapter Summary

My selection of methodology incorporates the reflections of the participants' perspectives. Ethnographic research embodies the concept of discovering the acquired cultural knowledge of the participants. Three selected procedures for ethnography; participant observation, interviews, and documentation were discussed at length. A two-step analysis of data was explained, the first step being an ongoing procedure and the second step a concluding feature of the study. References were made to the procedure of selecting categories, searching for category terms and the identification of cultural domains. After identifying cultural domains the next step was to discover a taxonomic structure to illustrate relationships based on evolving categories which will be explained more fully in the forthcoming chapter.

Chapter V

RESULTS

To understand the meaning of a classroom culture from the participants' point of view it is important to discover how they acquire and organize their knowledge (Spradley and McCurdy, 1975). The concept of culturally acquired knowledge implies a conglomerate of shared meanings which are taken-for-granted as "sets of unquestioned assumptions; however, like all shared meaning, they can be treated as problematic and become the objects of inquiry" (Young, 1971, p. 5).

This study inquired into these assumptions by reconstructing the participants' accounts of experiences and behavior through the use of ethnographic details which brought to light several interpretations of how the participants make sense and order of the classroom. The interpretations embodied in these accounts of the children in a single grade one art class were initially represented as a taxonomy of acquired cultural knowledge (Figure 2). The selected categories; instruction, visual referents, and behavior were seen as useful in ordering classroom knowledge in that all three appeared to function as a means of giving explicit and tacit directions in the episodes representing the social situation under study.

During the data analysis of the study, I realized with a growing awareness that something was fundamentally amiss. Although each of the three categories had been designated as conceptually separate within the framework of analysis, some of the categories had become so

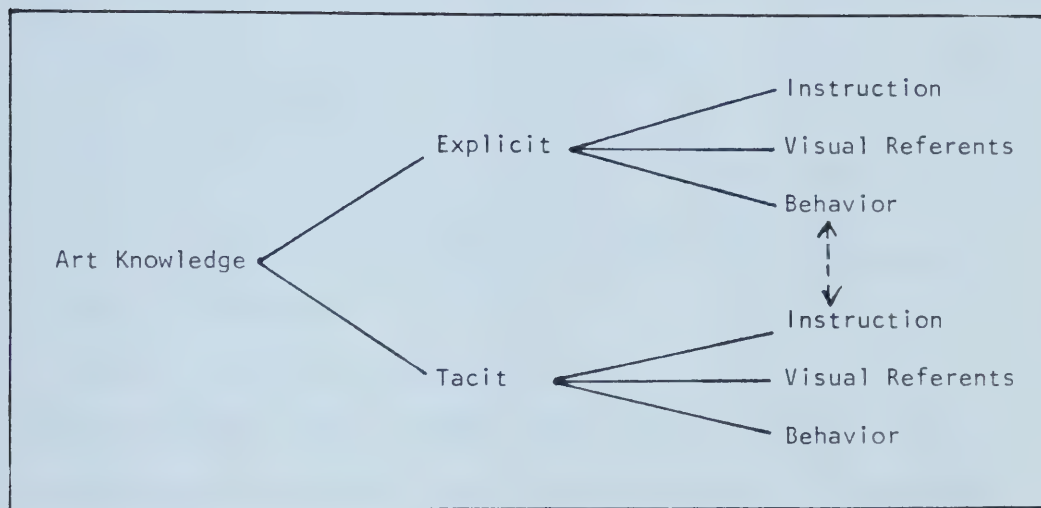


Figure 2
Artistic Knowledge Taxonomy

blended together that they had become non-distinguishable. The following excerpt categorized as Behavior and concerned with only Teacher Behavior is presented as an example of this blending.

After recess (22 November, 1983) Ms G. was talking with the children. Sam was not sitting up in the meeting circle with the other children, rather he was lying on the carpet stroking a stuffed bear.

Ms G.: (to the circle of children) Do you know that you have an eyeball?

Sam: (rolling over onto his back, he shouted) YEAH!

Ms G.: Leave! Right now. Get up and get out! (Her voice tenses as she points to the classroom doorway.)

Sam: Outside?

Ms G.: Sit outside the door.

Although Ms G. has chosen to ignore Sam's inattentive behavior when he was quiet she now reacted verbally and nonverbally. By excluding Sam from the classroom she terminated this particular social interaction within the meeting circle. Why? Was it because Sam shouted? Did Ms G. assume he had shouted at her, the teacher? Is it against unspoken rules to shout at teachers? Did Ms G. interpret Sam's behavior as a challenge of her authority or a rejection of established classroom routine both of which are taken for granted by the participants?

The above incident was not the only event in this social situation that was difficult to classify using my discrete categories: instructions, visual referents, and behavior. Obviously, I had overlooked something in my data. I went back to my study. What was the analysis of data revealing? What was arising from the data itself?

Again, Overholt (1980) was helpful with the premise that "the reality of education lies in the meanings which emerge in the interaction between teacher and student, student and peer" (p. 19). Blumer (1962) also concurs that the generation of social behavior is a key feature of "symbolic interaction" which he defined as a:

peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or define each other's actions. (p. 180)

This definition made clear that actions and interactions are interpreted by the participants in a social situation. Of course, that's what I'd been trying to convey with this study. I went back through my data again. In the analysis (page 62) I stated, "By excluding Sam from the classroom she [Ms G.] terminated this particular social interaction within the meeting circle." The point of the analysis suggests that Ms G. interpreted Sam's behavior as breaking a rule that dealt with acceptable criteria for interaction. Within this social setting of a classroom two discrete categories, action and interaction, were discovered to be embedded in the data.

I drew up a revised taxonomy (Figure 3) in which behavior was subdivided into two categories, action and interaction. Action was accomplished by teacher or student. Interaction involved teacher-student as well as student-peer.

Taxonomies of Interactive Behavior

The first selected taxonomy in this chapter illustrates episodes that represent observations of teacher action while the second analysis relates to student action. Following these analyses, the interaction

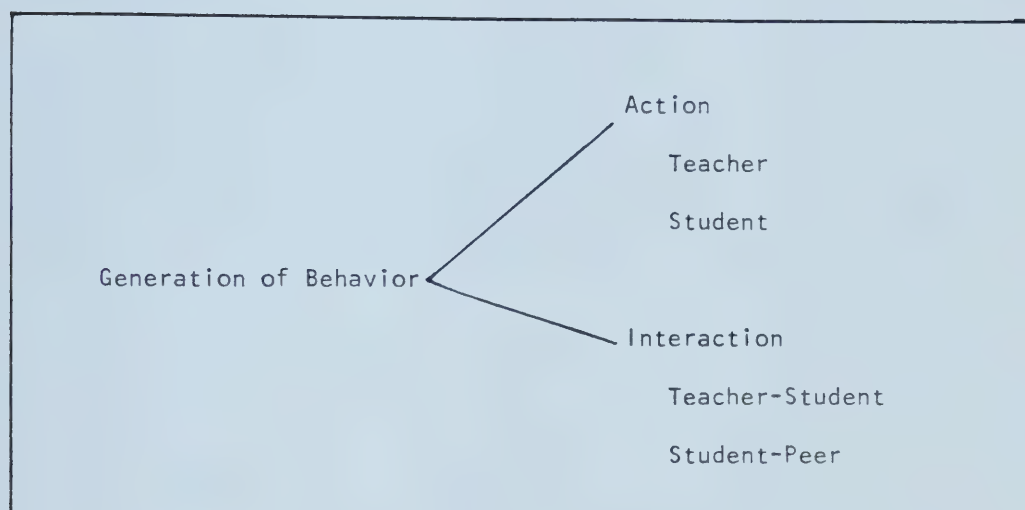


Figure 3

Data Analysis Taxonomy

categories, teacher-student and student-peer, will be analysed in taxonomies since much of the social behavior within one art classroom involved interaction, teacher talking to a child, a child talking with a peer or myself talking with a child.

Teacher Action

A classroom teacher asserts the authority of the institution in which he/she function and their superordinate position dominates expectations regarding social behavior through the direction and control of learning (Young, 1971). The following taxonomy (Figure 4) highlights categories most frequently observed as teacher actions.

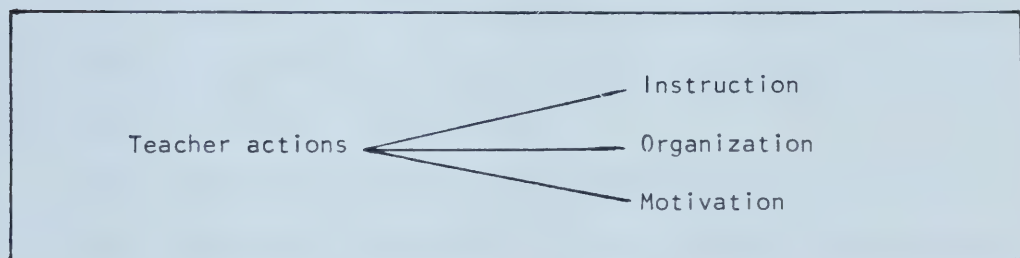


Figure 4

Teacher Action Taxonomy

Because Ms G. acquired sufficient knowledge in social institutions to receive certification to teach in Alberta, I assumed she was to be considered an expert who would distribute specialized knowledge to the children in her art classroom (Luckmann, 1983). Artistic knowledge was disseminated in ways congruent with Ms G.'s method of teaching. One teaching strategy was direct presentation through verbal instructions. Instructions were always presented with the introduction,

explication, or demonstration of a particular art material or art studio process.

In this first example of verbal instruction (22 November, 1983) the children were sitting in their desks following a group discussion about eyes. Each child had two pieces of white paper (2" x 6") on their desks, as well as pencils, erasers and felt markers.

Ms G.: O.K. now. Listen please. I want each of you to draw YOUR eyes on these papers. Look carefully in the mirrors to see how they look. Where's the black spot? Where's the color? How much white shows? O.K.? You have two pieces of paper so if you make a mistake just try again. Remember, you are to draw eyes so that your jester's eyes will look like your eyes.

In the above example, Ms G.'s actions were used to direct the children's attention to some feature about the knowledge the teacher was disseminating; in this case, Ms G. was attempting to increase the students' awareness of their own eyes.

During another lesson (05 April, 1984) Ms G. encouraged the children interested in the process to print a face on pieces of white cotton material. The children had been instructed to draw a pencil face on a piece of paper, to have the drawing approved by Ms G. and then the children were instructed to transfer the face design to styrofoam meat trays.

Ms G.: Remember, spread the paint away from you. Roll away, then lift the brayer. Roll, then lift the brayer, roll again and lift.

As Ms G. finished covering the styrofoam plate with paint she instructed the attending children.

Ms G.: Now, take your plate and put it on a clean pad of newspaper. We don't want the material to get all painty, only the face print.

When the inked plate was face-up on the pad of clean newspaper,

Ms G. gave the children these step-by-step instructions.

Ms G.: You must be very careful when you put on the cloth—ask for some help—then put the cloth over the painted face. Now rub your hands over the cloth, from the middle out, until your face shows through. Now carefully lift off the cloth. Maybe ask for help if it's sticking on. On, look . . . see how it came out.

The two excerpts above illustrate that explicit instruction, while being definite statements of intent, are intertwined with tacit knowledge that can be extracted. It seemed to be taken for granted that the children would attempt the task in a way that would result in an acceptable representation, "If you make a mistake just try again," "Look carefully," "We don't want the material to get all painty." There is an assumption that the children feel free to ask for adult assistance, but implicit in that assumption is the taken-for-granted knowledge that not all the children will ask for help, that is, the majority of the children will do the art assignment correctly. Those children who didn't produce a good product should have followed Ms G.'s instructions and asked for help. Once again, the children tacitly understood the common-sense meaning of "your face"; that is, everyone knows what the teacher meant. In addition there seemed to be an assumption concerning the special knowledge available to the children with regard to artistic terms (e.g., plate, brayer) which implied that these grade one students should have acquired an artistic vocabulary.

Situations which are familiar but not ordinarily brought into question require closer examination. Consider the tacit knowledge of these grade one children who understood the artistic frame of

reference for "your face." Common-sense knowledge was apparently utilized to differentiate between "Put white glue on your face" and "Rub your hands over the cloth; . . . until your face shows through" in order to generate appropriate student action during art class. In comparison, a mother's instruction "Go wash your face" would generate a very different action at home. It seems that the teacher's tacit instructions were interpreted by the children from what was verbalized or observed within the cultural context of the classroom. Of course, the children's interpretations of Ms G.'s instructions were not uniform since children respond to instructions in terms of their own understanding. The point being made in the discussion regarding teacher actions as it pertains to instruction is that there are rule-like ways instructions are presented and that the children are expected to interpret them in a manner that makes sense of art assignments in the context in which the teacher presents them.

As a complement to direct presentation Ms G. encouraged the children's artistic expression through the availability of illustrated books. Whatever the assignment there were various books available for the children on the subject or artistic process being presented by Ms G. Several art lessons were introduced with the aid of illustrated books. For example, prior to a field trip to the Edmonton Art Gallery, Ms G. brought the book "From the Heart" to class. This particular book is filled with colored illustrations depicting the folk art display that the children would be viewing at the Edmonton Art Gallery. Ms G. discussed the book before placing it on a book shelf within easy reach of the children (06 March, 1984).

Ms G.: I want to talk about this book that shows pictures of things we'll see in the Art Gallery display called 'From the Heart.' Try and remember some of the interesting pieces.

Ms G.'s observable actions of using books as visual displays indicated her tacit knowledge regarding the children's skills and understanding. Ms G. seemed to take for granted that pictures in books are useful to children when she used her stock of knowledge to place books as artifacts in the classroom. She apparently assumed that children, when they came to school, have already had much experience with books and interpreting pictures in books.

In addition to illustrated books Ms G. visually demonstrated artistic concepts on the chalkboard for the children. For example (06 December, 1983) the children sat in their desks while Ms G. talked about the difference between evergreen trees and the stylized symbol for a Christmas tree.

Ms G.: I want to make sure that you remember whan an evergreen tree is.

Sam: What do you mean? A spruce tree?

Ms G.: A spruce tree is one kind of evergreen. Look out of our windows. See all those green trees with needles? Those are evergreen trees. I want you to look and draw carefully. Now listen, I do not want the symbol for a Christmas tree, I want a careful drawing.

At the chalkboard Ms G. drew a large stylized triangular symbol for a Christmas tree with a piece of chalk.

Ms G.: I do not want something that looks like this. This is only a symbol for a Christmas tree. Draw a tree from outside. Look carefully, each of those trees are a little different. O.K. Now, let's get busy.

Ms G.'s actions of favoring living trees over stylized representations to increase the children's visual awareness was in agreement

with art authorities who presume that children can appreciate the natural environment as subject matter for art while learning to personally interpret what they see (Armstrong, 1980; Chapman, 1978; Lowenfeld, & Brittain, 1982). As I looked at the drawings it became evident that each child's representation of a tree articulated the essential characteristics of the living trees outside the classroom windows. All the children produced drawings which portrayed recognizable features of an evergreen tree. Not one child drew a stylized triangular shaped tree. It would seem that the teacher's actions were interpreted by the children to mean that one way of representing trees was more apt than another at this time.

On another occasion (08 March, 1984) when Ms G. was incorporating Greek myths into an art lesson she used a book as well as the chalkboard with her instructions. Ms G. had several books available by her chair, she chose one and displayed a centre fold page with a Greek border design.

Ms G.: I want to talk about today's art lesson. This Greek design was used over and over many times. Other people copied this design. It is called a 'key' design. I'm going to show it to you again on the chalkboard. (At the chalkboard she drew a key design.) First you go in and then you have to get yourself out. The key design is like the spiral. I'm sure when King Midas built his labyrinth, he had many of these.

I was intrigued by Ms G.'s assumption that these young children could replicate the intricate key design. I was surprised when all the children succeeded in creating the design which required precise eye-hand coordination. The children completed the designs with lead pencils, colored pencils, felt markers and paper strips. The key

designs were mounted on the door jamb in the hallway.

Ms G. did not spend all the art period instructing the children. As important as instructional actions seemed to be in the classroom, it was Ms G.'s withdrawal from action that often provided another important aspect to this art classroom. After she had given instructions to the children Ms G. routinely allowed the children to proceed with their art work without any intervention from her. Apparently she did so because she had decided that uninterrupted art time was important for children. If the children appeared to be carrying out the artistic task in terms of what was socially expected they were not subject to teacher interventions. However, Ms G. always kept an eye on the situation and seemed ready to change her decision if she decided that the children's actions warranted an intervention as the following excerpt illustrates.

On 24 November, 1983, the children were painting in the art room. A constant chatter of children's voices; exchanges of information, requests and offers of paint or assistance filled the room. I was watching as two boys simultaneously grasped the handle of a paint bucket when Bob asked, "Who wants red?"

Bruce: I got it!

Tom: I got it!

Bob: Hey! Don't fight over it.

Bruce: I had it first.

Tom: Bruce let go! I got it first (and attempts to pry Bruce's fingers away from the bucket handle).

Bruce: NO! I GOT it! (readjusts his grip more tightly)
You just wait your turn!

Tom: No, no. I need it for my jester. I need this color. Help me, Sam, I need this color now.

Sam came into the tug-of-war zone. He put his right hand on the handle of the paint bucket containing the red paint, while attempting to disengage Bruce's fingers from their firm grip. Sam and Tom both attempted to pry Bruce's fingers off the handle in order to claim the red paint. Bob stood back shaking his head from side to side. From over by the sink where she was mixing paint the teacher interrupted the tug-of-war with her decisive command:

Ms G.: Bruce, it's yours. Go paint.

Immediately, the tug-of-war ceased. Sam and Tom let go and returned to their respective paintings without comment to the teacher about Ms G.'s arbitrary decision concerning the use of the red paint. Bruce carried the paint over to where his jester mask was taped onto the table, dipped in a brush and resumed painting.

This episode illustrated vividly that Ms G., like all of us, often works under conditions that are less than ideal. She looked at the above mentioned situation and made a decision about what was going on in a manner that concurs with an adult point of view that gives a lot of control to the teacher. An underlying assumption of many curricula supports the concept of adult directives and are structured so that the teacher is in control. Ms G. demonstrated her superordinate position in this classroom by her action of deciding which boy would get the red paint. Her decision helped to maintain her purpose of the class, that is, the children were to paint jester masks not fight over paint.

In order to assist her students to become socially competent

members of the classroom Ms G. provided linkages between contexts of classroom change. Blumer (1962) suggests that because behaviors are organized "with intended goals, they have beginnings and endings which make them natural rule-bound behavioral patterns. For example, by highlighting the arbitrary mandate of time parameters Ms G.'s actions communicated to the children the ending of the art class.

Ms G.: Time to clean up!
 You've got five minutes.
 Oh dear, where does the time go?
 O.K. Time to get ready to go.

Not being able to recognize changes in context may result in actions that would be considered inappropriate by other participants in the situation so Ms G. made sure that the children did not misinterpret changing expectations.

Another important action, in conjunction with instruction, was Ms G.'s organization of the physical space in which the children created art. The classroom and the art room, described previously (pages 30-32), were the settings in which the children worked. Within these spaces Ms G. organized materials and decided what would be done to avoid interruptions during class.

Ms G. consistently organized her art classes within the context of the school program which allowed the curriculum to be presented on an integrated basis through the use of thematic units (Appendix 4). Therefore, the art period was not an isolated event in the school day but incorporated learning experiences from other contexts. For example, Ms G. knew the children had viewed the film *Rumpelstiltskin* in a language arts class. In the art classroom she incorporated the fairy tale with the creation of texture (01 March, 1984). Sitting with

the children in the meeting circle on the carpet Ms G. instructed the children to close their eyes in order "to see the dwarf, Rumpelstiltskin." Recalling the physical appearance of Rumpelstiltskin produced descriptive phrases by the children.

"old, wrinkled up face and hands"

"white beard, down to his knees."

"smooth, pointy hat"

"there's a long, long feather"

"wrecked up coat, dark black, furry"

"like some animal"

Ms G. vocally approved the descriptions while occasionally nodding and smiling to a child. She then concluded the discussion with an overview of what had been offered by the children perhaps to reinforce the acceptability of the responses. Ms G. continued the art lesson by stating:

With a piece of chalk draw Rumpelstiltskin's shape. Cut him out and then make him some clothes. You can use any of the papers in these boxes. Remember the problem is to make paper look like fur without drawing.

Observing Ms G.'s actions brought into focus her attempts to have the children establish a particular view of the world. She attempted to enlarge the children's understanding of the visual world. Art was not to be viewed as something one did only during a narrow time slot. Things in the world were important and worth paying close attention to in order to incorporate them into an artistic expression.

In addition to providing instructions and organizing the classroom Ms G. attempted to provide an atmosphere conducive to creating art by using a variety of approaches.

Books filled with interesting stories and illustrations were displayed with obvious forethought regarding a young child's arm span since the book shelves were low enough to the floor that a child had easy access to any book. In addition to the books there was an ever changing arrangement of interesting objects of various textures, colors, shapes and sizes for the children to pick up and examine. These displays of books and objects seemed to reaffirm the teacher's notions that visual materials and displays were important support materials in assisting children to become visually sensitive to their lived-in world.

Live experiences were provided by Ms G. to motivate the children's artistic expression. The experiences ranged from looking in a mirror at one's own face or looking out the classroom window at living trees to having a live rabbit in the classroom for a week. Whenever possible, Ms G. provided out-of-school experiences such as visiting the Provincial Museum or the Edmonton Art Gallery.

Films, pieces of art work, and various experiences were discussed in the meeting circle and seemed to motivate the children by developing and stimulating the children's desire to create art. While books, displays, films and discussion are important in motivating a classroom of young children to create art it is, according to Lowenfeld and Brittain (1982), friendly and warm teachers who motivate children to produce more work. Therefore, I was interested to find out how Ms G. related with her students as they sought personal satisfaction and expression in her classroom. In order to find that out I interviewed the children.

The interpretations reflected in the children's responses to the interview I conducted (17 April, 1984) indicate their perceptions of their teacher in this classroom situation. I requested each child to keep our interview a secret until I talked to everyone. The children's curiosity seemed piqued as they agreed. I set up an interview bench in the hallway outside the classroom door. Each interview was taped as a child and I sat side by side. After each interview I thanked the child and said "Remember, this is a secret until I've talked with everyone, o.k.?" All the children agreed, some with conspiratorial grins, some with solemnity, and some with nervous giggles.

(R): Is there someone Ms G. gets along best with in the art class?

Rita: Alice, then me.

Tom: Mmm . . . I don't know (giggles) sometimes . . . uh sometimes it's me.

Sam: I think Bruce and . . . uh Frank and . . . I guess then me.

Alice: Sometimes me, sometimes other kids.

Grace: Theresa and . . . yes me, too . . . most of the time.

Frank: Sometimes it's me. I try very hard to do stuff.

Sally: Sure. Me.

Doris: Nobody. It's all the same.

John: She likes me. She's nice.

Bruce: Me. I'm a good drawer. I paint good, too.

Ralph: She gets along best with girls.

Bob: Uh me . . . cause . . . uh . . . I do things and I try don't be bad.

Louise: Louise. That's me! (laughs at her own joke)

Theresa: Me. I try very hard.

Allen: No, it's about the same . . . (pauses) uh . . .
sometimes it's me.

Betty: Sometime . . . but it's about all of us.

Marg: Yeah . . . sometimes like . . . she smiles at me . . .
like she's the teacher.

Eli: (Absent)

Although Ms G.'s obligations, commitments and motivational attempts were directed toward all the children in her class Ms G.'s actions gave most children the impression that they are highly valued as individuals. The impression of personal worth through personal fulfillment and self appreciation for the children seemed to reflect Ms G.'s personality in this classroom.

In summarizing teacher action in this grade one art classroom Ms G. seemed to control the children through explicit and tacit instructions. Her organizational skills provided some control of physical activities and curriculum presentation within an atmosphere conducive to creating art works. Ms G.'s actions seem to indicate preferences for philosophies of teaching that one might find difficult to define but which take for granted the concept that adults have the right to control what children do (Davies, 1980). Ms G.'s actions reflect the stance of curriculum developers who assume that preselected, special knowledge can be transmitted to students.

Actions within the context of the classroom seemed to display a shared sense of social meaning. Behavioral expectations seemed to be interpreted by the children within the parameters of common-sense

knowledge. Ms G.'s behavioral expectations for the children were apparently based on a process of enculturation comprised of a stock of knowledge. The expectations were communicated by her actions which took the form of negative and positive sanctions (Sieber, 1979).

Student Action

As children interpret social situations they actively construct their own meaning about them by reflecting upon a whole range of acquired cultural knowledge in order to make decisions regarding behavioral expectations. A child's entire self, or biographical situation (Schutz, 1973) comes to the classroom with each child and is involved in every action that occurs there. The student action taxonomy (Figure 5) illustrates two levels of action occurring in the classroom.

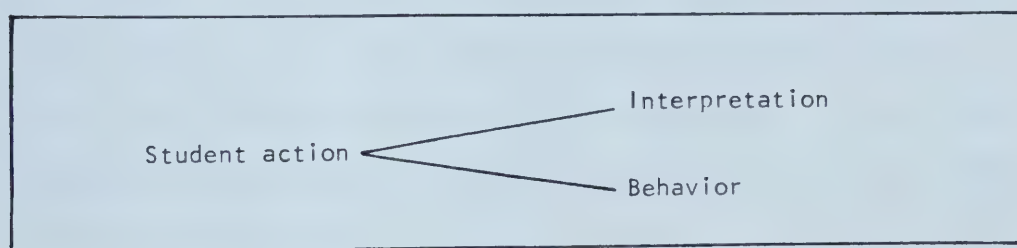


Figure 5

Student Action Taxonomy

The following excerpt illustrates children's interpretations of Ms G.'s directive "anything Christmassy" as the children worked in the art room in groups of six under my supervision (13 December, 1983).

The art room tables had been covered with newsprint and six printing stations set up. Three water soluble block printing tubes of paint of a primary color were available for every two stations. The students arrived and went directly to a big box containing paint shirts and made a selection. Some children required assistance getting the shirts buttoned. The printing process also required some assistance in that while the children knew what to do, the manipulation of the tubes of paint, the rolling of the brayers and the pulling of the prints proved too difficult for some of the children.

The children printed on construction paper of various colors by inking the glass, rolling a brayer across it and then depositing a layer of colored paint over a styrofoam meat tray. When satisfied with the application of paint, the child overturned the design onto the construction paper and rolled it with a clean brayer. The plate was lifted off the paper and the construction paper print was set on another table to dry. Each student made three samples of print-making; this allowed them a choice of 'the best one.' The art products had strong lines, clearly applied color and seemed to please the young artists with the results:

Rita: Look how the lines show up.

John: This is Black Peter. Look at this . . . this Black Peter looks scary (laughs out loud).

Bruce: Oh! Lookit . . . this didn't turn too much yellow, but turned out orange. I knew it! I knew it!

Sam: It came out! It came out! (appeared pleasantly surprised)

Alice: My gingerbread man didn't turn out. He's down here and . . . oh . . . he's the other way round. Oh! Now I remember how it works.

Betty: Look at mine. It's got two dots of red. It looks nice and furry.

Ralph: Look at mine. On red, one yellow and one blue. They're all just good.

These excerpts illustrate each child's increasing awareness of his or her growing stock of artistic knowledge. The emerging sense of (a) color, "two dots of red," "but turned out orange," "one red, one yellow, and one blue," (b) texture, "nice and furry," (c) lines, "Look how the lines show up," and (d) the pure pleasure of the creative process. "Look at mine," "It came out!", "They're all just good" are evident in the children's talk about their art work. Also evident was a common-sense knowledge that this talk would be sanctioned in the classroom within the limits of acceptable conversation whereas Sam's talk (page 62) gained him disapproval.

Since children draw on a broad range of experiences to interpret their lived-in world, the comments a child makes may reveal a glimpse of the child's inner world and perhaps some clue to the personal significance of his or her actions. For example, a young boy had been drawing the scene outside a window for several minutes during a rainy recess. I asked him if it was for his art class after recess.

Bob: (shaking his head and smiling at me) I like to sketch . . . even if I'm bored. It's . . . it's good 'cause then you're not bored.

It would seem that Ms G.'s attempts to develop each child's individual awareness of art as a continually satisfying form of expression were successful with this boy. Bob did not interpret art as something one does only during a narrow time slot. He apparently views the world around him as an opportunity to incorporate many ideas into artistic

expression.

As previously mentioned, books were displayed in the classroom and routine observations revealed children browsing through illustrated books. For example, some of the rabbit drawings and paintings completed in the first two weeks of April, 1984, incorporated ideas from the following books: "The Velveteen Rabbit," "The Easter Egg Artists," "How Rabbits Got Long Ears," "A Rabbit Called Hannibal" and "The Rabbit Who Wanted Red Wings." The children seemed to respond to the books with a common-sense view that the books were a useful tool for creating art. During part of this time one of the boys brought a female rabbit, Whiskers, complete with cage to school. The rabbit remained in the classroom for a week and was the object of close scrutiny for detailed drawings by some of the children. However, when I asked Allen why he was drawing a rabbit from a book instead of Whiskers, he replies, "But she won't sit still."

Whiskers was in the classroom as a live experience. Some art authorities would support live experience as a preferable way to create art over a reconstructed experience in the form of an illustration or print (Broudy, 1977; Chapman, 1978; Feldman, 1970; Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1982). However, Allen in his own common-sense way had reasoned that a book was preferable because a book stayed still while Whiskers did not.

During this study I observed young children monitoring their experiences while attempting to make sense of them. For example, the students working on a clown unit (22 November, 1983) were painting jester masks. Every child had a sheet of brown paper. Each corner of

the paper was tacked down to an art table with masking tape to prevent it rolling up.

Ms G.: Think about how the jesters looked. Paint your jester mask in any colors you want. Don't paint in the centre of the mask. That is what is cut out for your face to poke through. I'll come around and make sure the hole isn't too big for you.

Ms G. then demonstrated her procedure by quickly sketching a jester mask and cutting out a hole for her face. She threw the cut out piece of paper into one of the painted garbage cans.

John was one of four children at an arborite topped table in the art room. His ongoing conversation follows:

John: Let's see. Mmm . . . mmm . . . a big place for my head to poke through.

He painted a large black elliptical shape in the middle of his brown paper apparently in compliance with Ms G.'s explicit instruction, "Don't paint in the centre of the mask." The black paint separated the brown paper into two areas, one to become a jester mask and the other to be "cut out for your face to poke through" and presumably to be discarded, if Ms G.'s directions were to be used to predict future action.

John: Pointy hat with point things. No red nose for you but lots and lots of bells.

Triangles of green paint adorned with yellow blobs (bells?) were soon painted around the upper portion of the empty elliptic shape.

John: What color eyes? Nope! (shakes head) A big, big collar.

More green triangles with yellow tips are painted below the oval shape on the paper.

John: A funny face, a funny face. Cut it out. A big red nose.

As John continued talking to himself it became apparent that his tacit knowledge was being brought into action to circumvent the tight control Ms G. had over his art product. Her explicit instructions "Paint your jester mask" obliquely eliminated a circus clown mask. John overcame this restriction by using the disposable interior shape to paint what he wanted, "A funny face, a funny face. Cut it out. A big red nose." John enthusiastically proceeded to transform the elliptical shape into a circus clown's face with a big smiling mouth, red nose and large green eyes complete with top eyelashes.

By recalling information from some previous experience John did not interpret his present experience in the art room as an isolated incident where he used paint but as a part of his stock of knowledge about clowns. As noted by Tough (1973), children not only concentrate on "details within the present situation, but also retrieve details from an earlier experience which will add meaning to the present experience" (p. 77). John compared experiences by categorizing distinguishing features; jester clowns have pointy hats, pointy collars and lots of bells, whereas circus clowns have big red noses and funny faces. John apparently rationalized creating the clown face in the blank space on the paper by anticipating that Ms G. would "cut it out" anyway in order that John's face could "poke through."

In this episode John attempted to make choices in terms of his own interests; to paint a circus clown face, while remaining within the parameters of Ms G.'s expectations; to paint a jester mask. John's actions illustrate that teacher expectations of what a child will learn about art and what a child expects to learn about art are

often quite different if we look more closely at the meaning of a child's interpretation of an art experience. Maxine Greene (1977) suggested that if we listen to what children say and examine transcribed dialogues," very often what we discover is a critical representation of the reality of the lived-in world that the children find encompassing them.

Another student also utilized verbal reinforcement to accompany her actions in the process of making cookies. A little girl's language kept her in touch with her own creative activities by placing the action in the context of her own experience.

Doris: I can pat it.
 Pat-a-cake, pat-a-cookie,
 pat-a-cake, pat-a-cookie.
 I can do this!

When glazing her cookie, the following comment by Doris would seem to be addressed to no one in particular.

Doris: Dip it in, paint it on.
 I like yellow, but it's slimy.

Communing with oneself while in the company of other children does not depend upon interaction with the peer group. In this case, student action has an audience but only one actor—the child soliloquist.

In summarizing student action in the art classroom it is important to recall that children are unique in trying to realize themselves through experiencing and interpreting their culture. Each child creates meaning in the context of a social situation as ongoing, continuous process. A child's actions and interpretations of action reveal how acquired cultural knowledge is used in the classroom. In an art classroom a child is expected to create art products. Whereas

most children come to explore a variety of symbolic forms made possible by a range of media, they do so in a personalized manner. A child does not, indeed cannot, create art in isolation from his or her interpretive experiences. In addition to creating art products each child must acquire taken-for-granted common-sense rules of social behavior in order to be considered a competent member of the classroom culture. Each competent child also acquires the rules for breaking rules which allows some manipulation of social behavioral expectations without being labelled a deviant.

Teacher-Student Interaction

Schools, as all institutions, are formalized interaction patterns that have established behavioral rules (Dobbert, 1982). This assumption was often reflected in the observations of teacher-student interactions. The teacher-student interaction taxonomy (Figure 6) illustrates four types of observable interaction which will be examined in the context of an art classroom.

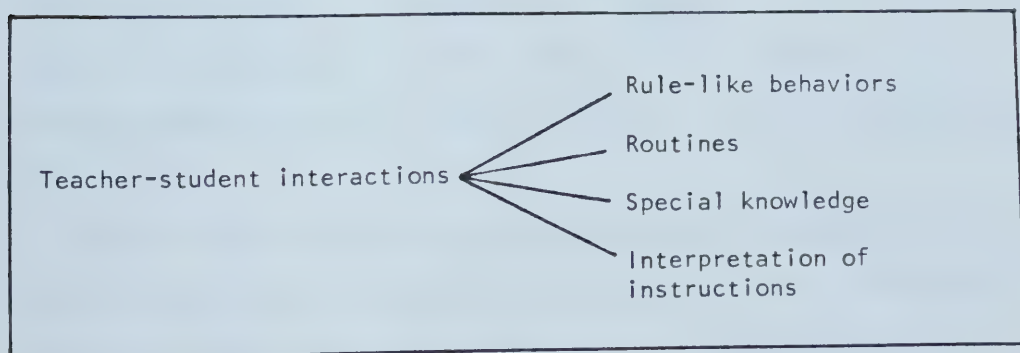


Figure 6

Teacher-Student Taxonomy

The following example of teacher-student interaction indicates Ms G.'s expectation that the children will do as she bids them, even though an outsider might assume by the interaction that the children had a choice of actions.

April 26, 1984. In the classroom Ms G. reemphasized the textural qualities of weaving while sitting with the children in a circle on the carpet.

Ms G.: We've got a smooth texture. Under, over, under, over. We've got shaggy texture, knotting. And now the feathers will give us another texture, a fluffy texture. O.K. now . . . does anybody want to weave today?

As noted by Davies (1980) "the outward form is symmetrical, but it is tacitly recognized by children and teacher that the symmetry ends there" (p. 267). The subtleties and nuances of what were considered to be appropriate rule-like behaviors were reinforced as all the children took up the weaving task. According to Johnson (1981), any tacit referral must be made in the context in which knowledge was transmitted and received since experiences are interpreted according to their constructs of meaning. What would have happened if a child had refused "to weave today?" Could a child refuse to interact in the expected manner and not be considered deviant in this particular social situation?

Another example of seeming choice occurred (01 December, 1983) as the children completed a discussion regarding Christmas card designs..

Ms G.: You know what you might do which would be quite acceptable? You might want to work on one with a friend.

The children enthusiastically chose partners and talked together about

how and what to design for their respective Christmas cards.

In this instance the only choice available to a child was whether they wanted "to work on one with a friend." There was no teacher-student interaction as to the choice of an art assignment since Ms G. had introduced the theme of Christmas cards and encouraged new ways of exploring it; she was the one who supervised the discussion and she determined what "would be quite acceptable" behavior on the part of the children.

These selected episodes have represented some teacher-student interactions in which an outsider might have assumed that the children were free to make choices, whereas the only acceptable choice was student compliance to Ms G.'s rule-like behavioral expectations.

Ms G. tacitly enforced the children's appropriate rule-like behavior by her verbal and non-verbal interactions. Ms G.'s smiles, frowns, and comments were used in establishing and maintaining acceptable student behaviors. Misbehavior was not frequent, conformity was taken for granted and was the usual pupil response.

According to Schutz (1973) when we encounter something in our experience that stands out of the ordinary order of our knowledge it becomes more visible due to the contradiction of customary expectations. However, it is through breaking rules and experiencing the consequences of that action that children discover or rediscover precisely what are the rules of acceptable behavior. As noted previously (page 62) Ms G.'s interaction with a child rule-breaker might result in the child being sent out of the room. Another teacher-student interaction involving rule-breaking resulted in

the teacher's use of critical comment to a child.

The students were spread out around Ms G. who was holding a book filled with colored photographs of the Art Gallery display on folk art (13 March, 1984). Each child had a sheet of paper and a pencil.

Ms G.: We're going to print what these things are made of, or might be made of. Look carefully at the pieces in the book.

A fifteen minutes discussion followed in which materials: wood, fabric, and metal were listed. During the discussion Bob trailed off topic which apparently prompted the following:

Ms G.: You're being a chatterbox. You know what you're supposed to do.

I found this remark interesting since many of the children were talking at the time. Why was Bob considered to be "a chatterbox?" Perhaps it was not his talking that prompted Ms G.'s interaction with him, but the fact that he was not on the topic of conversation initiated by her. "You know what you're supposed to do" implied a tacit compliance to a rule of behavior, a rule that Bob had broken and therefore was subject to the reprimand.

During this study I observed that Ms G. also used positive responses to reinforce children's rule-like behavior. For example, during a class discussion (19 April, 1984) about a Greek myth Sally gives several appropriate answers to Ms G.'s questions.

Sally: It was Arachne.

Ms G.: Why?

Sally: Because, uh, someone turned her into a spider.

Ms G.: But why?

Sally: Because she was making fun of Zeus and all his wives.

Ms G.: Yes, she was weaving and she said that she was the best weaver in all the land. Very good, Sally.

"Very good" apparently expressed Ms G.'s opinion of Sally's ability to stay on topic, to reflect on information previously given to her and to answer questions in an acceptable manner. "Very good" seemed to be used to name the consistency of Sally's actions, that is, social behavior. Ms G. apparently has taken for granted that the children are able to reflect upon their experiences with sufficient intellectual skills to understand her questions and to form acceptable replies.

"Very good" seemed to be used to name the consistency of Sally's social behavior; that is, the teacher-student interaction met Ms G.'s rule-like expectations.

A major source of routine teacher-student interaction occurred daily in the meeting circle. While not always directly dealing with the creation of art products the circle appeared to be an intricate part of this art classroom (pages 49-52). Viewed within the context of the social situation, the meeting circle seemed to be interpreted with common-sense knowledge as an integral part of the classroom routine.

Meeting circle occurred at the beginning of every art class I observed and seemed to be a demonstration of the children's readiness to do art.

Tom: After we count we are all ready.

Sally: You have to count to see if people are ready.

The meeting circle was the most tightly controlled teacher-student interaction observed during this study. During the circle meeting,

Ms G. indicated that she expected the children to attend to the main focus of the interaction. Any talk adding to or leading to the clarification of the topic of conversation resulted in positive acknowledgement from Ms G.

Yes, she was weaving and she said that she was the best weaver in all the land. Very good, Sally.

Yes, that would work just fine. (Smiles at Bob.)

That's great! Thank you for sharing. (Frank and Eli had already been to the folk art display and talked about it in the meeting circle.)

Any significant deviation from the acceptable patterns of behavior apparently constituted grounds for some kind of sanctioning action from Ms G.

You're being a chatterbox. You know what you're supposed to do.

Leave! Right now. Get up and get out.

Why did you put up your hand if you had nothing to say?

The classroom observations seemed to confirm that Ms G.'s smiles, frowns, and comments were used in establishing and maintaining acceptable student behaviors.

During circle time the teacher and students collectively produced and sustained rules for getting the floor (Bremme & Erickson, 1977). Moreover, in doing so, they generated a classroom specific social context in which the participants attempted to make sense of the different routines for getting a turn to speak. In order to get an opportunity to speak and not be reprimanded the children had to receive acknowledgment from Ms G. The safest way to get a turn to speak seemed to be to raise one's hand and wait for Ms G.'s

recognition, either by her calling a child's name or by her nonverbal behavior.

Ms G.: Tom?

Tom: „ In kindergarten we were on a trip. We saw this huge spinning wheel (held arms out to indicate size). No one was in there but there was knitting on the bed.

Ms G.: What were you going to say? (nods head at Theresa in acknowledgement).

A child might also bid for attention by calling the teacher's name or just speaking up with what he/she had to say. The aforementioned behaviors sometimes got the floor for the child and sometimes didn't. The following excerpts indicate Ms G.'s recognition of one child while ignoring the behavior of another child.

During the first instance (13 March, 1984) the class had been discussing what they would see on a forthcoming fieldtrip. Ms G. was reviewing her expectations of behavior she had set up for the class when she was interrupted.

Alice: Ms G.? Should we get a partner?

Ms G.: You don't have to have a partner if you don't want one. But it's nice to have a partner so you can talk about pieces.

At this point, Ms G. broke off the verbal interaction with Alice by again referring the children to the acceptable and non-acceptable patterns of behavior concerning the field trip.

The other interruption (26 April, 1984) occurred as Ms G. was explaining how people obtained natural color dyes from outdoors. She was relating her own experience of pulling up tomato plants and letting them dry in the sun.

Ms G.: Later I boiled them up . . . and I got this light, but a bright color of green.

Eli: My sweater is green.

Ms G.: (Continuing to speak, ignoring Eli's talk) I suppose if I used more leaves I could have gotten a darker color of green. Maybe I didn't use enough of the chemical.

A child's interaction as a bid for attention in this manner sometimes worked and sometimes didn't. It was not obvious why Ms G. acknowledged the first child who interrupted her and then ignored the second child. Although both children had spoken without Ms G.'s explicit recognition neither child received a dismissal (page 62) or a verbal criticism (page 90).

During this circle meeting, Ms G. did not allow the children to move around the room. It was assumed that the children were to be quiet unless acknowledged and they were to look at Ms G.

Ms G.: I'm waiting.

Shhh. I want to see faces, not backs.

I want you to look at me (pauses) . . .

Are you ready? Ready to listen?

As the interaction in the circle meeting drew to an end, Ms G.'s actions indicated that the real business of doing art was about to commence.

Ms G.: O.K. You paint whatever you want today.

Any questions? Good, let's go.

Remember, the problem is to make paper look like fur without drawing.

Acquired cultural knowledge was used in this social interaction to interpret experience. Taken-for-granted common-sense rules of social behavior, such as, counting in unison, raising a hand to speak or

sitting quietly in the meeting circle, seemed to make the participants' actions and interactions a natural part of the classroom routine.

Just as routines for participating in the meeting circle were taken for granted, so was a dual purpose "Wait-your-turn" rule. The first purpose seemed to presuppose that not everyone could do, or have access to, the same thing at the same time. The unstated assumption that children should "Wait-your-turn" for using limited supplies, looking at a specific book, or checking out the softness of a rabbit's fur seemed to be taken-for-granted. One example of sharing that illustrates this taken-for-granted perspective occurred 06 December, 1983.

In the staff room, I assisted children in making a batch of gingerbread. This group made the cookie dough, put it in bowls, covered the dough with plastic wrap and put it into the refrigerator to chill for another class. The children were prepared to wait several minutes for their turn in making the dough.

Rita: You have to take turns.

Sam: It seems long but it's not really, really, long
(emphasizes really).

Frank: The other kids . . . uh . . . they made us some
cookie . . . uh . . . cookie dough . . . so we
do it . . . Not for us, for some other kids . . .
to make them tomorrow.

Betty: I like to stir up the egg. It's all yellow in the
milk. Then it's all milk . . . but it's in there, too.

These four children from the classroom were not unique in their willingness to make cookie dough for other children to use. They routinely used the "Wait-your-turn" rule as a way of making sense of what could have been interpreted as a tedious process, making something

and not being able to use it. Each child in the class went through this process of social reasoning, doing for others and having others do for them. They approached the project with enthusiasm and each child's interaction in the process was apparently significant to them. "I like to stir up the egg," "The other kids made us some cookie dough so we do it for some others." An example illustrating a child's interpretation of her routine action by inventing the "Wait-your-turn" rule is Rita's comment, "You have to take turns."

The other version of "Wait-your-turn" involved the line-up. Ms G. was out-numbered by children and, therefore, according to Seiber (1979) she legitimized line-ups of children on the grounds of rationality and efficiency. During line-up the children seemed to follow rules that apparently evolved from common-sense knowledge of how things were to be organized:

Rule #1: Keep quiet.

Rule #2: No pushing or shoving.

Rule #3: Keep in line.

Rule #4: No butting in.

The first rule "Keep quiet" did not seem to imply absolute silence. As long as the talking was low key and caused no disturbance, Ms G. ignored it. However, the "Keep quiet" rule was there to be used. For example, a child's giggling, laughter or loud talk resulted in Ms G. placing her index finger to her lips and saying "Shh!" to the deviant child.

The "No pushing or shoving" rule seemed to be interpreted by the children to mean no physical contact so violent as to cause a child

to stumble into someone else. If disruptive behavior was not blatantly obvious, it was ignored by the teacher.

The third rule "Keep in line" varied considerably with the locale. The line often wound around desks, ebbed and flowed as the children went down the hallway to the gym or the art room. If a child left the line for whatever reason the teacher, or attending adult, voiced the directive, "Keep in line." However, the "Keep in line" rule was totally ignored by all the members of the class at dismissal times.

The fourth "No butting in" rule could be manipulated in order to side step the rule that one had to go to the end of the line to "Wait-your-turn." If one had a friend in line who would let you enter the line in front of him, you could join the line without a fuss. However, if the friend indicated that you were to join the line behind him a chorus of indignant children's voices rose up in unison, "Hey! No butting in!" at which time the teacher would intervene with a decisive directive.

The "Wait-your-turn" rule, like all cultural rules, assists members to make consistent interpretations of what is happening, and like all cultural rules is open to interpretations, justifications, and manipulations by the members of the culture. As discussed by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) "one way every culture handles variation from what is considered appropriate is by means of 'rules for breaking rules'" (p. 29). By illustrating this one rule along with its rules for breaking rules, I hoped to demonstrate how members of a culture bring their tacit knowledge into understanding a social situation. The ability to produce acceptable rule-like behaviors permits children

to become competent participants in the classroom since situations in the classroom are not always handled in curriculum guides. The curriculum guides cannot anticipate every action and interaction that may occur within the context of the classroom.

The actions and interactions in this classroom illustrate the teacher's accessibility to children. For example, while uninterrupted periods of art time were routinely taken-for-granted (page 71), Ms G. was usually available to reinforce a range of techniques that would help a child achieve control over the media being used. For example, on 24 April, 1984, a young girl requested Ms G.'s help.

Betty: I don't get . . . my feather won't stay in. See?
It's out.

Ms G.: O.K. now . . . let's figure this out. Show me what you did.

Betty: (picks up her weaving, puts the pink feather under a strand of wool) But it won't stay in.

Ms G.: I see. Did you try the wool in the needle one-two then one back towards yourself?

Betty: (shakes her head) I have to weave it?

Ms G.: Uh huh . . . let's see you try so the end of the feather is caught under the one-two wool, o.k.?

Betty: One-two over, now back one to me. In it goes.
Put my feather right there. I'll pull it tight.
Look! It's in!

Ms G.: Good. Now do two more rows so that the end of the feather is under the weaving. Can you do it by yourself?

Betty: I can do it . . . I just weave it, right?

The example of teacher-student interaction demonstrates positive response from the teacher as she worked with Betty. Ms G. routinely analysed children's artistic problems with them in order to arrive at

practical solutions. In this case Betty's successful interaction with the teacher permitted her to use her newly acquired knowledge to create a fluffy texture effect in the weaving assignment.

The routine of the classroom seemed to be maintained through the participants' use of common-sense knowledge about the actions and interactions going on in the classroom.

Teacher-student interaction in the art classroom often dealt with specialized knowledge. In order to talk about art, children must acquire specialized knowledge in addition to, and differentiated from, common-sense knowledge. Whereas common-sense knowledge is available to everyone, special knowledge is not (Luckmann, 1983). For example, in an art classroom a teacher disseminates specialized artistic knowledge to students and then within the context of that art classroom the specialized knowledge is used in a common-sense way.

Although children view art primarily as a means of expression (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1982) they apparently understood that there are things to learn about what is called art. The following example illustrates specialized knowledge concerning color.

During a painting session in the art room, some of the children were describing the colors of their jester masks (24 November, 1983).

Eli: This is mustard. It's like a gold color.

Bruce: That's purple . . . no! It's burgundy. Not quite purple and not quite red.

Sally: This diamond is bubble-gum pink.

Louise: You see the blue? Watch this. Now I put on yellow and mix it up with my brush. See? Now it's green. Like magic, eh? I know because I do it. It always happens that way.

This specialized knowledge about colors is not known by every member of our society. I have been in classes where children did not have the specialized knowledge to name colors much less be able to create the color of their choice. Specialized knowledge gives people the tools of their trade, it permits them to become experts in their field of interest. However, as Luckmann (1983) noted "relatively complex and fairly long sequences of training, apprenticeship, schooling, and the like are necessary for the acquisition of specialized knowledge" (p. 68).

Of course, not all teacher-student interaction in the art room dealt exclusively with specialized knowledge in the form of artistic concepts. It is not my intention to imply that there was always consistent mutual agreement with regard to the assigned art tasks during teacher-student interaction. Because children interpret instructions in terms of their own understanding, an art teacher does not always accept the artistic choices of a child as the following example illustrates.

Following a community request for children's Christmas cards there was a class discussion in the meeting circle on the carpet (01 December, 1983). The children and Ms G. talked about ideas for Christmas cards. Following ten minutes of idea exchanging Ms G. gave the following instruction:

Ms G.: All right now, let's get busy. Make your very own Christmas card.

Sally: I could bring some Christmas ornaments mmm . . . a book . . . at home . . . and put them on.

Ms G.: Do you mean to cut them out to put on your card? (Sally smiles and nods.) I'd rather you draw the

ornament (smiles at Sally). You might look at them and draw them but I'd rather see your art.

This excerpt reemphasizes that in dealing with the everyday, common-sense interpretations of a child a teacher doesn't always accept children's choices. Although the explicit instruction "Make your very own Christmas card" had followed ten minutes of idea interchange, Sally wasn't ready to strike out on her own. She seemed unaware that Ms G.'s explicit instructions contained the tacit rule "Don't use commercial decorations." As Ms G. attentively repeated Sally's vocal presentation she seemed to be indicating interest in what Sally was saying. Ms G. provided positive support to the little girl by accepting the book as a visual reference. "You might look at them and draw them." Ms G. seemed warm and supportive to Sally while obliquely requesting that Sally attempt an original art piece: ". . . but I'd rather see your art." The teacher's preference for Sally's original art work implied that Ms G. had meant something in particular, although not explicitly stated, when she said, "Make your very own Christmas card."

Immediately following this dialogue with Sally, Ms G. was approached by Theresa.

Theresa: Can we put Santa Clause on?

Ms G.: Uh huh.

Theresa: Reindeers? (looks expectedly at Ms G.)

Ms G.: Sure you can.

Theresa: And snowmen? (emphasizes 'and')

Ms G.: Of course, Theresa. You make your card just the way you want to. You are the artist.

Theresa turned away smiling and proceeded to her desk seemingly pleased with the individualized attention she had received. She set about designing her very own Christmas card.

During these exchanges Ms G.'s voice was calm, containing no hint of irritation as the girls probed for acceptable symbols and further clarification of the task at hand. Not once did the teacher retort "I've already told you" or "Why weren't you listening?"

After the Christmas card assignment was underway Ms G. walked around the room looking at the children's art work. She commented to the class at large:

Ms G.: I find it a little strange that nobody wanted to do nutcrackers in their drawings because we have been doing them for Germany.

I found this statement most interesting. Previous explicit instructions "Make you very own Christmas card" as well as "You make your card just the way you want to. You are the artist" implied a choice. The comment "I find it a little strange that nobody wanted to do nutcrackers . . ." tacitly implied that Ms G. had presupposed that one of the choices would have been a German nutcracker. Although Ms G. did not explicitly state "Your Christmas card MUST INCLUDE German nutcrackers!" her interjection implies that they should.

Several of the students nodded their heads enthusiastically in agreement. However, not one student included a nutcracker on their Christmas card. Because Ms G. did not explicitly instruct the children to include German nutcrackers in their drawings they apparently assumed the oblique request was a suggestion not a directive. The children's interpretations of what constituted a Christmas card incorporated

popular Christmas themes. The resulting art products would all be readily recognized and typified as Christmas cards by the members of the child's culture: peers, teachers, parents. According to Schutz (1973) objects and experiences are always interpreted through typifications which are themselves grounded in socially developed and shared significations. The significant symbolism used by the children within the context of this art classroom shared taken-for-granted, common-sense notions about Christmas cards..

The following week the concept of Christmas symbolism came up again when Ms G. introduced styrofoam meat trays as a material for the children to use in a printmaking process (page 79). The teacher's explicit instructions regarding the finished art product took the reverse image of the printing plate into consideration during the instructional period.

Ms G.: Make a pencil drawing that you want for your print, anything Christmassy. Hold the paper up to the window backwards to see what your print will look like. Let me see the drawing before you copy it on your meat tray.

The students' interpretations of Ms G.'s instructions for this art assignment, in contrast to the previous week's Christmas card assignment, depicted some examples of German symbolism.

John: This is Black Peter. Look at this . . . this Black Peter looks scary. (laughs out loud)

Alice: My gingerbread man didn't turn out. He's down here and . . . oh . . . he's the other way round. Oh! Now I remember how it works.

Why was German symbolism for Christmas accepted in this assignment but rejected in the previous week's task? Was creating a Christmas card associated with the children's common-sense interpretations of

Christmas whereas designing a print was associated with teacher-student interaction in an art room? I was unable to discover an explanation for the children's interpretations.

The children's interpretations of Ms G.'s actions were a constant source of information which added to my stock of knowledge of what goes on in the mind of a child. The following example reveals subtle differences in the ways the children interpret the teacher's instructions (22 November, 1983). The children were sitting in their desks following a group discussion about eyes. Each child had two pieces of white paper (2" x 6") on their desks, as well as pencils, erasers and felt markers.

Ms G.: O.K. now. Listen please. I want each of you to draw YOUR eyes on these papers. Look carefully in the mirrors to see how they look. Where's the black spot? Where's the color? How much white shows? O.K.? You have two pieces of paper so if you make a mistake just try again. Remember, you are to draw eyes so that your jester's eyes will look like your eyes.

The looking in mirrors and drawing of eyes lasted approximately fifteen minutes. The mirror examinations provided an observation of eye rolling, additional squinting, giggling, facemaking and merriment regarding the children's faces, not just their eyes. The children chatted with their peers while popping in and out of their desks during this drawing process. As the children attended to the assigned task I mingled with them and asked:

(R): Why are you drawing eyes?

Rita: To put on our jester, I think.

(R): Why are you using blue?

Rita: (smiling at me) Because my eyes are blue.
Because I looked in the mirror like Ms G. said.

Five boys provided these reasons for drawing eyes.

Tom, Bruce, Bob: Because Ms G. wants me to do it.

Sam, Ralph: You're supposed to.

Pressing on, I asked Eli the same question.

(R): Why are you drawing eyes?

Eli: Because Ms G. told us to.

(R): Why do you think she wants you to draw eyes?

Eli: For our jester faces.

(R): If they're going to go on the jester faces why are you drawing them on paper?

Eli: I don't know, maybe (pauses) so they are good.

Ms G.: Finish up now and let me check your eyes. Five minutes!

As the children were completing their art assignments I wondered about Eli's comment "so they are good." What tacit knowledge was he using when he interpreted the drawing assignment? Previously presented data (page 89) revealed Ms G. had used the word "good" to indicate approval of Sally's responses. Eli may have interpreted Ms G.'s instructions "if you make a mistake" and "let me check your eyes" as taken-for-granted, common-sense knowledge that the drawings had to meet Ms G.'s unspecified criteria of excellence.

At the end of the designated five minutes Ms G. approved all the drawings and the children routinely lined up, then proceeded down the hallway to the art room. As the children entered the art room, they claimed their own jester head from a storage container. The papier-mâché jester heads were fastened atop a two foot piece of sturdy tubing. The heads had previously been painted with a base coat of

flesh colored tempera paint. The facial features were apparently to be created today. The children stood beside the tables awaiting instructions.

Ms G.: Take a piece of chalk and make sure you have the eye shape you want to draw on [the jester's face], then go over it with a black marker.

As I talked with students about drawing the eyes with chalk, I encountered various interpretations of Ms G.'s instructions.

(R): Why are you using chalk to draw the eyes?

John: To get the eye on the jester.

(R): Why not just use the black marker?

John: Because (pauses) you might just make a mistake. Cause look! (demonstrates by wetting a finger and wiping off some of the chalked eye) See, that's how it does.

The same question with another boy:

Tom: Well, it's just so that you can trace over it.

(R): You mean that it wouldn't mark if you didn't chalk there first?

Tom: Nope. Because then (pause) because you can just copy it. It comes off.

Repeating this question, I received the following answers from two girls.

Doris: I don't know. Ms G. said.

Alice: You might make a mistake.

(R): What if you made a mistake in chalk?

Alice: You would have to erase it.

(R): Is that a problem?

Alice: Not with chalk but it is, uh, with permanent markers it is. Cause permanent doesn't come off. The line is there, period. You can add more but you can't (pauses) erase it off.

This reconstruction can be used to illustrate some of what participants understand in the art classroom. During this lesson the children demonstrated their acquired special artistic knowledge regarding the properties of chalk and permanent felt markers. John demonstrated the temporary properties of chalk as he wet his finger and wiped off some of the chalk: "See, that's how it does." Alice made an explicit comparison between the two media with the comments about chalk: "You erase it" but "permanent doesn't come off. The line is there, period." In addition to the acquisition of special knowledge, the children invented rule-like arguments for doing a chalk drawing prior to using felt markers on the jester heads.

"Like Ms G. said."

"Because Ms G. wants me to do it."

"You're supposed to."

"Because Ms G. told us to."

"Ms G. said."

Within this art classroom it seemed to be taken for granted that the teacher-student interactions were an essential form of communication (Rossario, 1977). The children seemed to try to work within the parameters of what Ms G. expected and at the same time Ms G. apparently relied upon the children's cooperation and willingness to make sense of her instructions. The tacit knowledge about what was expected of the art product was noticeable during this study. None of the children's artistic decisions signalled a substantial departure from the common-sense expectations of the classroom even when the explicit instructions were open to more than one interpretation as when the

following instructions were given regarding the attachment of a red felt mouth on each jester head.

Ms G.: Put white glue on your face. Put the felt mouth on
the glue. Press firmly so it sticks and doesn't
fall off.

All the grade one children seemed to be operating within the parameters of Ms G.'s expectations as they made a socially acceptable choice of interpreting "put white glue on your face" to mean that all the jesters were to receive big, red felt mouths. Not one child put the white glue on his own face. Although Ms G.'s instructions were not absolutely clear, the children seemed able to fill in the missing knowledge in a common-sense manner.

During another art lesson (29 November, 1983) four German-style nutcrackers were set up by Ms G. The nutcrackers were approximately a foot tall and each took the form of a military man standing erectly at attention, arms stiff to his sides. The uniforms and hats varied in color and design, however, in all four the functional aspect of the nutcracker was the mouth. These nutcrackers were displayed on one desk and the children's desks had been arranged so that each child faced the display. Each child made a personal choice of which nutcracker to draw.

As I observed the children drawing, I noticed the manner of depiction; that is, the stylistic aspect of the children's drawings differed considerably. Some of the children attempted realistic representations.

(R): I notice you are drawing the littlest nutcracker.
I see his green uniform and red sash.

Sally: You're supposed to do it like the same.

(R): But I saw one drawing that had extra triangles and lines on it.

Sally: I don't want to add things. It's the same!

(R): Is it O.K. to add things?

Sally: (shrugs her shoulders) Uh huh, but mine's the same.

Whereas Sally seemed adamant that her drawing be absolutely recognizable other children added or deleted features of the displayed nutcrackers without hesitation.

(R): I'm interested to know why you put triangles on this drawing. I've looked and looked but I can't see triangles on that nutcracker's yellow trousers.

Bob: Well, you (pause) you can put any decorations you want to on it.

(R): How come?

Bob: Because you can change things you're drawing . . . if you want.

(R): Oh, that's nice. Why did you draw that nutcracker?

Bob: Because (clears throat) the teacher told us. (pauses) Said draw one of the nutcrackers out of our choose (Bob's word).

As previously noted the children use interpretations in order to make sense of Ms G.'s actions and interactions. Children apparently used common-sense knowledge to bring their drawings in line with what they thought were Ms G.'s expectations. For example, "It's the same," "you can put any decorations you want to on it," "draw one of the nutcrackers out of our choose" illustrate how a child interpreted the instructions. As a child interpreted the teacher's instructions they were put in a contextual framework in that all the children seemed to use their personal stock of knowledge; specialized and common-sense, to the extent that they saw themselves as operating

within Ms G.'s behavioral expectations.

In summarizing teacher-student interaction it may be assumed that each participant involved had some purpose in mind. Ms G.'s expectations sometimes varied from a child's interpretations.

By observing teacher-student interaction in the classroom I ascertained that the acquisition of special artistic knowledge was circumscribed by rules pertaining to social behavior. The rules, which were often tacit, seemed to be structured to carry out a process of socializing children into rule-like behaviors so that they could partake of the educational aspect of the classroom (Davies, 1980). Although these classroom behavioral rules were not necessarily associated with artistic rules they did have an impact on the teacher-student interaction within the context of the art classroom. Although the children did not enjoy an equal relationship in the teacher-student interactions each child seemed to use a personal stock of knowledge to an extent that each child had ways of making sense of teacher-student interactions regardless of what interactions occurred.

The teacher-student interactions revealed that behavioral expectations generally conformed to common-sense knowledge regarding how things were to be done. The children used a multiplicity of perspectives simultaneously as they attempted to recognize, to respond to, and to make decisions about behavioral expectations. The children interpreted the teacher-student interactions in their own context in order to feel they had complied with behavioral expectations. Competent students have learned that this classroom is more than a place to make art products. In this classroom apparent conformity to

taken-for-granted procedures is good, whereas any substantial departure from the rules, explicitly or tacitly determined, is considered to be deviant behavior.

Student-Peer Interaction

A student competent in the ways of a classroom learns, often with the help of peers, to interpret actions and interactions within a classroom in order to make sense of that social situation. Cicourel's (1974) reflections on the central issue of how social order is possible deals with this sense making by members of a culture. In this aspect the culture of childhood is no different from any other culture. The sense-making processes used by children in the classroom are categorized in the following taxonomy of student-peer interaction (Figure 7) and the categories will be more fully described in the forthcoming section of this study.

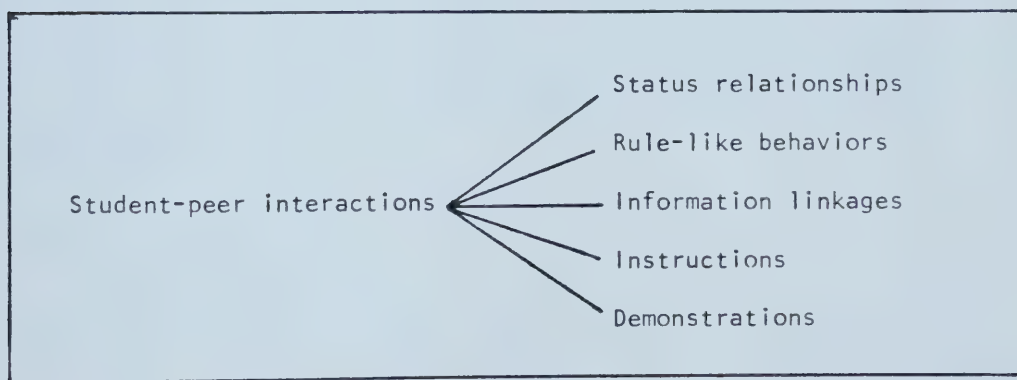


Figure 7

Student-Peer Taxonomy

To function successfully in the lived-in world of a classroom, a child must be able to differentiate between behavioral expectations suitable for home and behavioral expectations suitable for a classroom. Children modify decisions regarding status relationships with adults as they become part of a social situation dealing with nonkinship relationships; that is, adults other than parents seem to have the right to determine behavioral expectations and children other than siblings must be accommodated in a classroom.

A child becomes aware of the importance of choosing language which supports appropriate student-peer interactions as well as teacher-student interactions. In order to successfully interact in the classroom it would seem that children interpret the situation with common-sense knowledge which presumably permits them to recognize, articulate and display natural forms of acceptable speech and behavior (Rossario, 1977). The choice of language will be influenced not only by the message to be conveyed but also by the relationship existing between the people interacting as illustrated in the following example.

Two girls working at the same table were talking about the art assignment.

Doris: My stuff won't roll.

Grace: Oh, you silly.

Common-sense knowledge presumes that one does not say "Oh, you silly" to everyone. Expressions like "Oh, you silly," "Get out," "Sit down, please" seem to be signs of status relationships. Whereas it was permissible for Grace to interact in this manner with a peer, or perhaps for Ms G. to say "Oh, you silly" to a child, there was

common-sense knowledge used that a student did not talk in this manner to a teacher.

On the same day several children were painting pictures on large pieces of paper on the floor. Betty accidentally spilled water on her picture. Sally and Louise came to her assistance in the following student-peer interaction.

Louise: Wait 'til it's dry or it will run.

Sally: Paint another part for now.

The student-peer interaction apparently made sense in this situation since the suggestions did not bring queries from Betty. For example, the phrase "or it will run" did not seem inappropriate since Betty apparently recognized the phrase in its intended context. This interpretation of run had a different meaning than run had for my grandson, Jeremy (pages 26-27). The student-peer instructions "wait 'til it's dry" and "Paint another part for now" while being directives differed from teacher-student interactions in that they did not carry the same expectations for compliance as they would have if Ms G. had issued the instructions. In this episode, the student-peer interaction was suggestive with the choice of compliance up to the recipient of the peer advice.

Through status related interactions children begin to interpret the reasons for behavioral restrictions placed on them in the classroom. Since children use their experiences to create meaning, a child may come to regulate his or her own behavior, as well as attempt to regulate peer behavior, by referring to common-sense interpretations of classroom rules (Tough, 1980). The following rule-like behavior happened

in the art room a few minutes after the brief tug-of-war over red paint (pages 71-72) and illustrates some tacit underpinnings of the rules that assist children to make sense of their lived-in world of the art classroom through student-peer interaction.

Frank deliberately walked over to the table where Allen was standing, and started to pick up a bucket of paint.

Frank: Hey! You never asked.

Allen: No! . . . It was on the bench.

Frank: (Looks questioningly at the other boy in the group.)

Eli: (Nodding) It was on the bench, Frank.

Allen: It was! (defensive tone) So?

Frank: Oh well, this is . . . this brown isn't . . . O.K.
(shrugs his shoulder and leaves their table without the bucket of brown paint).

What happened in this interaction that avoided another tug-of-war over paint? Obviously there has been some kind of disagreement but the student-peer interaction differed in settling the episode. Taking an ethnographic stance, I tried to discover what knowledge the boys had used to generate the observed behavior. I attempted to approach the situation in a manner that reflected the children's interpretation of the experience rather than my version of the situation. I discovered three rules by which interpretations were made and decisions arrived at by the children governing the use of paint in the art room.

Rule #1 "It was on the bench" translated into a taken-for-granted rule. Anyone finished with a bucket of paint is expected to put it on one of the low wooden benches under the chalkboard. Anyone can take paint from the

benches and move it to where they are painting.

Rule #2 Students have an option of offering a bucket of paint when they are finished rather than returning it to the bench. "Anyone need gold?" "Want burgundy?" However, if there are no takers then the student offering the paint must return it to a bench.

Rule #3 A student may make a request for a color to use. "I need pink next." "Can I have the orange when you're finished."

These rules were apparently invented by the children and appeared to be very much a taken-for-granted part of the art classroom. According to Schutz (1964) and Spradley and McCurdy (1975), people are continually inventing, manipulating, or justifying their reasons for bringing their actions and interactions in line with a common-sense understanding of the rules in order to make sense of their social situations. The student-peer responses to the rules in a common-sense manner allow predictions of other's behavior in a given interaction. This ability to predict what is going to happen increases a child's sense of control in that some manipulation of the rules is possible. As previously mentioned, cultural knowledge includes rules for breaking rules (Spradley and McCurdy, 1975) as demonstrated in the second and third rules above which permit some manipulation of the first rule in order to avoid replacing the paint on the bench every time it was used.

Student-peer interaction apparently included an assumption that others could interpret and define actions. If clarification of meaning seems necessary, a child would often supply information linkages

during student-peer interactions. The following example illustrates how peer groups manage this complex process with seemingly effortless ability by establishing inferential linkages to bring order and reason to a seemingly chaotic world.

This example of student-peer interaction utilizing information linkages occurred after I had asked why the gingerbread cookies were all cut out in animal shapes.

Allen: When baby Jesus was born there were animals to see him . . . where he was born . . . in the straw.

Grace: In the stable.

Allen: Yeah, in the stable.

Apparently, when Grace realized that Allen needed more explicit information she felt obliged to provide it. Allen accepted the offer and incorporated the information into his explanation.

An additional strategy for supplying information was demonstrated (08 December, 1983) during a drawing class.

(R): What is a light stick?

John: Oh? Oh yeah. It's a big thing . . . it has . . . here just wait I'll show you. (He gets a piece of paper and begins to sketch.) It has platforms and you do like . . . Jesus and Mary maybe. Or else the Three Wise Men following the star. Here . . . there is . . . A candle goes right here and here and here.

Bob: Sometimes they have propellers on top. And the heat makes the propellers swirl around. We have a little one at home with angels.

During his attempt to clarify the concept of light sticks, John incorporated visual and verbal techniques in order to supply additional information which he felt was warranted: "I'll show you," "It has platforms, a candle goes right here and here and here." Bob also

offered more information regarding propellers and how heat makes them twirl around. In addition he offered some of his personal knowledge about "a little one at home with angels."

These excerpts suggest that children utilize both verbal and visual techniques to create information linkages with common-sense, everyday talk. The children apparently learn from each other as well as from the multiple perspectives they bring with them to the classroom. Art is not created in isolation but within the context of their lives in which the children attempt to interpret the situation.

The children's interpretive skills also permit them to make judgments in establishing belief systems in which some kinds of knowledge belong to a world of reality and some belong to a world of fantasy. The following examples illustrate young children's use of inferential links as they attempt to make sense of their lived-in world. These conversations in which inferential linkages were being made about pretend and real were overheard in the classroom.

Doris: But Santa isn't really real. He's just my Daddy pretending.

Eli: Did you see him?

Doris: (shaking her head) No . . . but I know he's pretend . . . like . . . uh . . . like the Tooth Fairy!

This student-peer interaction involved Doris's explanation of why "Santa isn't really real." Eli, apparently seeking more concrete evidence asked "Did you see him?" Although unable to confirm seeing her father, Doris reaffirmed her certainty by making an inferential link to a perspective they apparently both share with the clinching statement "but I know he's pretend . . . like the Tooth Fairy!" Her

final statement seemed to imply what anyone knows about the Tooth Fairy; that is, fairies are pretend so therefore Doris's argument regarding Santa was sound (15 December, 1983).

On another occasion (17 April, 1984) during a weaving lesson, I overheard students talking about the fairy tale Rumpelstiltskin.

Tom: Remember when we had a movie? That film about a little midget kind of?

Frank: Rumpelstiltskin.

Tom: Yeah. Member he spinned straw into gold?

Frank: It wasn't him. It was that girl who cried.

Tom: No. It was him.

Frank: (emphatically) It was the girl.

Ms G.: It was the dwarf who did it.

Frank: Oh . . . well (shrugs his shoulders). It's only pretend anyway. No one can spin gold.

Tom: (Nodding and looking right at Frank) Yeah. And . . . no one can spin around and round so fast to disappear . . . mmm . . . maybe . . . (shakes head) It's just pretend.

As Tom attempted to establish a linkage with a past event and the present, he and Frank began to argue over who "spinned straw into gold." At this point in the student-peer interaction the sudden interjection of Ms G.'s voice "the dwarf . . . did it" provided another example of the teacher's authoritarian role in the classroom. The teacher's action had an immediate effect on the student-peer interaction. Whatever Tom's point had been in bringing up the subject was lost as Frank, shrugging his shoulders, withdrew with "It's only pretend anyway." Tom in order to maintain the social interaction with his peer affirmed the interpretation "It's only

pretend."

On a previous occasion (20 March, 1984) the art class was creating soft sculptured spiders to complement the Greek myth "How Spiders Came to Be" in which Athena turned Arachne into a spider. Not all the peer talk related to the immediate problem of sewing spiders. For example, the following student-peer interaction regarding truth took place:

Allen: Is that a true story?

Sam: I believe it.

Frank: Not me. I don't.

Sam: Some is . . . like the science book and uh . . . spiders are good weavers.

Alice: Well, you can like them even if they're not true.

Frank: How does she be turned into a spider like if there's a play? How does she shrivel up? How does she do it?

Alice: I don't know. Ask Ms G.

After Frank indicated disbelief, Sam took it on himself to justify his position: ". . . like the science book . . . spiders are good weavers." Next Alice shared with Sam some of the responsibility to bring Frank's perception into line with their perception by noting "Well, you can like them even if they're not true." Frank, still apparently a disbeliever, retaliated with a problem of stage production management: ". . . like if there's a play? How does she shrivel up? How does she do it?" (This question probably related back to the experiences of production the children had with a touring company earlier in the spring.) Alice's reply "I don't know. Ask Ms G." seemed to suggest she still believed some things while admitting that

she doesn't know everything; that is, her stock of knowledge was limited. However, by suggesting that Frank "Ask Ms G." she shared a perspective that there are people who do know more than she, and that Ms G.^{*} is one of those people who have a greater stock of knowledge at hand.

These episodes of student-peer interaction reveal the critical representation of the reality of the lived world that children find encompassing them (Greene, 1977). Belief seemed to be established within peer groups as part of an art classroom. Student-peer interactions revealed that children realize that they have knowledge. Their knowledge allows them to justify or challenge beliefs. Children question their own as well as other belief systems. By bringing into question any set of beliefs the children expose beliefs and perspectives to change over time. Children also realize that there are others who know more than they do; they realize that others have acquired more knowledge.

In addition to providing information linkages to make sense of their world, the children in this classroom frequently look to their peers as sources of knowledge. The following example will highlight interactions during student-peer dissemination of knowledge. On 17 November, 1983, the children were making ornamental gingerbread cookies for the Alberta Provincial Museum Christmas tree. While the making of cookies may not seem to be an artistic endeavor to some, Ms G. used this opportunity to enrich the children's artistic knowledge as suggested in the school program (Appendix 4) by relating this episode to a thematic unit about German Christmas traditions.

Ms G. affirmed that making cookies served the purpose of creating an historical perspective to this art assignment.

I supervised and assisted groups of four children in the staff room where there was a stove for baking the cookies, a refrigerator for chilling the dough, and a sink for clean-up. In addition there were two table knives, four bamboo skewers, a rolling pin and two greased cookie pans for the cooking session.

Two girls and two boys were at a table, rolling out the chilled dough and cutting out animal shapes with metal cookie cutters during the following student-peer interaction.

Grace: Help, my cookie isn't right.

Allen: Put the cutter on it again and press all over it.
Here I'll help. (Replaces the cutter over the cookie.)
Press all over it!

Grace: (Follows Allen's instructions.) Oh, the leg broke
(pause) That's o.k. See—I put it back on.

Eli: Where's the camel?

Grace: Over here. Pass it to Eli. (She hands the cookie cutter to Allen.)

Eli: It [the cookie] won't come off.

Allen: Want my knife? You can use it to make it let go.
Put it [knife] under kind of.

Eli: I put it under . . . mmm . . . like this (wiggles
the knife under the camel shaped cookies). Good . . .
now . . . it's on the pan.

Doris: My stuff [cookie dough] won't roll. (Her dough is
lopsided after her attempt at rolling her entire
supply of dough.)

Grace: Oh, you silly. Look it's too . . . take just a
handful. No! Pull it apart . . . like . . . like
here I'll do it (divides the dough into smaller
pieces). Pat it down like this (uses the palm of
her hand to form thick pancake like cookie). Now . . .

the roller like this. See, try your piece.

Doris: I can pat it. Look it's got my hand. (The dough retains her handprint.) Pat-a-cake, pat-a-cookie, pat-a-cake, pat-a-cookie. (laughs) I can do this. (Doris continues to flatten the dough with her hand, totally ignoring the offered rolling pin.) I want the dog. Where's the dog?

The cookies were cut out and transferred to prepared cookie sheets by each child. Each child glazed their own cookies with a mixture of one egg yolk, one teaspoon of water plus any desired food coloring. The glaze was applied to the cookies with paint brushes.

Grace: Not too much! It will burn. Mrs. S. said so [volunteer].

Allen: Give me some red stuff. I need the red.

Doris: Dip it [brush] in, paint it [glaze] on. I like yellow but this is slimy.

After the glazing was completed, a variety of garnishes, chocolate sprinkles, red or green sugar crystals and tiny silver balls, were added as cookie decorations during this student-peer interaction.

Doris: Use the green. Mmmm, they're good—it's sugar.

Eli: I can use these [tiny silver balls] for eyes. Want some?

Allen: What can I use for a mouth? Oh . . . mmm. Yup, this is good (applies red sugar crystals). No! (head shaking, starts picking off the red, smooths the cookie with his finger) I'll just draw it (attempts to draw a mouth with his finger nail).

Eli: Use the poking stick [bamboo skewer]. Like this see? He's smiling.

The interaction occurring during peer instruction, "Put the cutter on it again and press all over," ". . . take just a handful, pull it apart," "Put it under kind of" illustrates that some children have knowledge and use it to direct another child's attention to some

explicit feature of that knowledge. The explicit instructions seemed to help the recipient to plan and to control what they were doing.

In conjunction with explicit instructions, peers offered demonstrations that conveyed knowledge: "Pat it down like this. Now . . . the roller like this. See try your piece." The demonstrative interaction sometimes took the initiative from the first child and became the behavior of the instructing child: "Use the poking stick. Like this see?" ". . . like here I'll do it." The recipients apparently perceived the demonstrations as cooperative behavior and not as a threat to take over the cookie making process. When peers gave instructions, with or without demonstrations, their intent appeared explicit.

There seemed to be a common-sense understanding for interpreting peer instruction. Common-sense interpretations resulted in an understanding that one could accept or reject peer instruction within the context of the art classroom while this option was not apparent during teacher-student interactions. In addition a child could alter peer instruction to fit personal methods of handling the media in question as did Doris in the previous incident when Grace said "Now . . . the roller like this. See, try your piece." Doris attempted to pat down the dough and encountered immediate success: "I can pat it . . . I can do this. I want the dog. Where's the dog?" Once Doris discovered a successful method to manipulate the dough, she ignored further refinement of the process and went on to cutting out animal shaped cookies.

The context for student-peer interaction was a shared experience,

something which the children had been interested in discussing. Of course, much more goes on here than appears on the surface, for as Rosen (1973) points out even the most meagre telling of what has happened demands that some kind of transformation must be imposed on the experience. For example, if one looked to Spradley and McCurdy's (1975) definition of cultural knowledge as "a recipe for producing behavior and artifacts" (p. 17) this art assignment could have been regarded as an endeavor to create cultural artifacts. Artifacts are uniquely human in that they are created from natural resources using learned rather than inherited knowledge. Artifacts can be classified into sets of categories. For example, cookies are one kind of dessert that can be subdivided into an array of categories. There are stamped cookies, cut-out cookies, drop cookies, refrigerator cookies, sugar cookies, peanut butter cookies, and gingerbread cookies among many other kinds of cookies. One needs the correct recipe for producing the desired artifact and cultural knowledge is useful in accomplishing this feat. When making cookie ornaments the children used cultural knowledge.

In an attempt to discover the children's cultural knowledge regarding the cookie making activity I inquired "Why gingerbread for the cookies?" and received the following explanations.

Doris: It has to be gingerbread because we're doing Germany. That's how it's done, you know.

Grace: It's been that way for years. It's a . . . a tradition, yes a tradition—like something that's just . . . uh mm . . . for special times, like getting lots of presents at Christmas.

While it is apparent that Doris has realized there is some connection

between Germany and making gingerbread cookies, she could not explicitly state the rationale. Doris used her common-sense knowledge to interpret that this information was taken-for-granted. She assumed, therefore, that I knew why the gingerbread was used for making the cookies. Grace, however, apparently interpreted this concept of tradition by building an inferential link from her existing knowledge base. In other words, Grace was building up her stock of knowledge at hand. To introduce the term tradition Grace linked it with the taken-for-granted frame of reference of "special times" and "getting lots of presents at Christmas."

Following the above conversation, I asked "Why animal cookies?" in an attempt to discover if Ms G.'s assumption that the children's knowledge regarding the significance of the cookie making activity would be increased by this activity.

Eli: Well, the museum asked for animal cookies. It's also about the ark or something.

Allen: When baby Jesus was born there were animals to see him in . . . where he was born . . . in the straw.

Grace: In the stable.

Allen: Yeah, in the stable.

Two different interpretations of the justification of animal cookies are presented by the boys. According to Rosen (1973) we all need to shift the past, to wrest from it its reflective meaning by reaching out to touch others with our recollections. Eli knew the museum had requested animal cookies. He then followed through with a guess about the animals' relationship to the ark in an attempt to make a sensible connection. Allen recollected that when baby Jesus was born

he was surrounded by animals. Both interpretations related animals in context and it seemed unfortunate at first that I did not have Ms G.'s explicit explanation regarding the choice of animal cookies in order to determine why the art assignment had been interpreted differently by the two boys. Upon reflection, I realized what was important here was the fact that each boy had his own way of using multiple perspectives to make sense of the situation. In other words, the whole process of cookie making was a sensible undertaking for the children in that their interpretations made sense. This episode supports the concept that no matter what instructions teachers of children put forth in classrooms, each child is going to put that instruction into some kind of context in order to give it meaning so that it is interpreted as a sensible kind of thing to do. By doing the sensible thing children apparently view themselves as operating within the parameters of teacher expectations.

In summarizing student-peer interactions it becomes evident that if we are to understand how children actually interpret art experiences we must acknowledge that children use a multiplicity of perspectives simultaneously in arriving at a view of social reality. Children behave according to rules of their own childhood culture and learn about adult culture by interacting across cultures according to varying sets of explicit and tacit rules (Davies, 1980). The following of rules and the acceptance of the role of student seems to be in agreement with the theory developed by Schutz (1973) in which he explained how people learn to interpret the compartmentalization of their lives in a taken-for-granted manner which permits them

to create meaning in their lived-in world. Student-peer interaction functioned as a routine schema of social behavior utilizing a taken-for-granted stock of knowledge within the art classroom.

Chapter Summary

The everyday, taken-for-granted classroom occurrences were brought into question in order to discover how verbal and nonverbal actions and interactions were interpreted by the participants in this social situation. The participants in the art classroom actively and simultaneously created a setting in which not only did they create art products but they did so within the parameters of socially acceptable standards of behavior.

In order to generate appropriate behavior, the participants of the classroom had to make sense of the ongoing actions and interactions. The children constructed meaning through interpretations which were a part of their personal biographical situation that gave meaning to how art was perceived in the context of the classroom.

As educators and researchers we cannot dismiss children's interpretations of art nor can we ignore the knowledge they bring to the art classroom if we are to discover more about how children construct meaning. In order to do this we must go beyond the explicit knowledge of art education as explained by theoretical stages of artistic development (Golomb, 1974; Kellogg, 1969; Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1982; Lubin & Poulsen, 1978). These theories explain that there are stages through which all children pass as they develop the ability to represent accurately. However, this is not the entire

story since it is from the interpretation of their experiences that children acquire cultural knowledge with which they construct meanings and learn to understand meanings conveyed to them by other members of their culture. Because the art classroom does not encapsulate all segments of the children's lived-in world it cannot be considered in isolation when making reference to what should be going on in the art classroom. Art is not created in isolation but within the context of a child's experience in which the child uses a multiplicity of perspectives to interpret his or her acquired stock of knowledge in an attempt to make sense of any social situation.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiential world of children in a grade one art classroom as interpreted through an ethnographic method of research. This study viewed the teaching of art within a cultural context accepting the definition of culture by Spradley and McCurdy (1975) as "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behavior" (p. 40). Therefore I could not ignore or disallow the knowledge of the children; that is, their culture. The culture of childhood was assumed to be no different than an exotic culture in the respect that children formed an intact cultural scene, they shared beliefs, made artifacts, acquired special knowledge and their behavior was open to investigation.

Conclusions

By focusing on the children's interpretations of what went on in the art classroom I attempted to answer the following questions:

1. How do children acquire what counts as knowledge in the art classroom?
2. How do children make use of their acquired knowledge to interpret an art experience?
3. How do children typify a course of events that constitute an art class?

As I attempted to discover how children acquired what counts as knowledge in the art classroom, it became evident that there was no simple way to describe the process. In this classroom each child brought to the social situation a unique set of experiences with which he or she made consistent interpretations of the actions and interactions going on in the classroom.

The special knowledge disseminated by the teacher through direct presentation seemed to increase the children's understanding that there were things to learn about what was called art, such as, how to name and mix colors (page 97). In addition, the acquisition of special artistic knowledge permitted a child to become a member of the art classroom setting by promoting his or her chances of being involved in the action and interaction going on in the classroom. If children did not incorporate specialized knowledge in their art work it may be assumed that they chose not to or that they did not have the necessary specialized knowledge.

Children also seemed to acquire knowledge, special and common-sense, from their peers. Student-peer interactions highlighted much of what went on in the classroom. When peers gave instructions, with or without demonstrations, the intent appeared explicit. If clarification of meaning was required, peers provided additional information, inferential linkages, and offers of personal stocks of knowledge.

Artistic knowledge was also acquired individually as a child used art as a means of expression through the manipulation and mastery of the materials used for creating art products.

However, artistic knowledge was not the only criterion for what counted as knowledge in this art classroom. During this study I ascertained that the acquisition of artistic knowledge was often circumscribed by rules pertaining to social behavior. In order to be considered a competent member of the art classroom a child must acquire the common-sense knowledge necessary to recognize and comply with rule-like expectations. The participants in this classroom had to conduct their behavior in ways that made sense if they expected to be socially accepted by the other members of the group. This informal process contributed to a child's stock of knowledge in that there were rules to follow which for the most part were tacit; that is, the rules were known outside conscious awareness (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). An appearance of compliance to classroom rules usually resulted in positive social reinforcement whereas an apparent breaking of classroom rules resulted in social reprimands.

It would seem that children use multiple sources from which they acquire knowledge leading to levels of artistic and social competence within the context of the art classroom.

Discovering how children made use of their acquired knowledge to interpret art experiences was a major component of this study. I observed the continuous interaction of the children's common-sense and specialized knowledge as they participated in the art classroom. When I analysed the children's art experiences, it became evident that the common-sense knowledge that the children used in the art class had a strong impact on their interpretation of an art experience. Children seemed to use a multiplicity of perspectives simultaneously

in arriving at a view of the social reality of the art classroom. It seemed that no matter what instructions were received, each child put the instructions into some kind of context in order to give it meaning so that the art experience was interpreted as a sensible kind of thing to do. By placing the instructions in a sensible context, children seemed able to use their acquired cultural knowledge to interpret an art experience within the parameters of the teacher's expectations.

In addition to discovering how children interpreted an art experience this study attempted to discover how a child typified an art class. According to Schutz (1973) objects and experiences are always interpreted through typifications which are themselves grounded in socially developed and shared significations. In other words, typifications are rule-like common-sense understandings of how things are to be organized.

By using acquired cultural knowledge a child seemed able to predict the day, the time, and the location of a typical art class. Typifications were also linked to the participants and the routine of the art class. Apparently, children used a multiplicity of perspectives simultaneously as they attempted to recognize and comply with taken-for-granted, common-sense rules so that their actions and interactions would have some sense of shared social meaning within an art class. A child seemed to typify an art class by interpreting the actions and interactions of the participants in the art classroom within the context of his or her own experience:

"You paint." "It's fun!" "It's easy."

"If you don't know, just ask."

The shared significance of the course of events that constituted an art class seemed to be typified by children as they retrieved details from past experiences and applied them to a present experience in order to make sense of the situation:

"After we count we are all ready."

"Ms G. said do art, so we do."

"You have to take turns."

"It always happens that way."

"That's how it's done, you know."

The children attempted to typify the happenings in the art classroom to create order in their lived-in world.

A major attempt of this research study was to try, as much as possible, to suspend my preconceived ideas about what I was likely to find and to look with fresh eyes at the culture of childhood within the context of a grade one art classroom. In conclusion, as this study draws to a close, the reader has the answers that I found to the questions that I posed using the methodology that I found effective. Learning has been disclosed as not merely the explication of a predetermined body of knowledge by the expert to a group of children; rather, it is a complex interaction of personalities, acquired stocks of knowledge, and interpretations of experiences within each child's lived-in world.

Significance of the Study

Ethnographic research, such as this study, may provide researchers and teachers with some guidelines as to how children interpret the culture of an art classroom because it permits us to listen to the voices of children. By listening to the voices of children, to their language of actions and gestures, as well as their verbalizations and nuances, we may reinterpret the culture of childhood through children's experiences and conceptualizations (Broudy, 1977).

Rather than predetermined adult expectations of what should be valued in children's art, an acceptance and respect for the culture of childhood may generate what Spradley and McCurdy (1975) define as cultural change. This process by which "some members of a society revise their cultural knowledge and use it to generate and interpret new forms of social behavior" (p. 569) would advocate paying attention to the knowledge that children bring to social situations. Through an inquiry process on-going interpretations of experience would be brought into question and the potential for change recognized (Schirmacher, 1978). Through cultural change children's interpretations may become significant educational ends, valuable in themselves as goals of art experiences.

The application of ethnographic methodology to educational research remains a relatively new endeavor. Ethnographic research, which assumes that individuals create personal meaning strategies that influence much of their behavior, could provide a data bank of information for investigators interested in children's interpretations.

Recommendations for Further Research

The children in this study seemed to acquire and use both common-sense and special knowledge in the art classroom. It is probable that children in any art class interpret their own social situation with multiple perspectives in order to get a sense of what is appropriate behavior in an art classroom. Further research is recommended to find out to what extent similar situations exist in different schools and with different age ranges.

Further research may discover to what extent gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status influence a child's interpretations of art experiences within the context of a classroom.

Additional research may also explore the influence of the availability of materials and the physical environment in which art is made.

While this research focused on children's interpretations of art, further research needs to focus on teachers' attitudes and expectations concerning art education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agar, M. The professional stranger. Toronto: Academic Press, 1980.
- Alberta Department of Education Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of Alberta. Gr. I-VI. Edmonton: W. D. McLean Printer, 1929.
- Allen, G. R. The graduate students' guide to theses and dissertations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.
- Almy, M. Ways of studying children. New York: Teachers College Press, 1959.
- Alschuler, R., & Hattwick, L. Painting and personality (rev. ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Apple, M. W., & King, N. R. What do schools teach? Curriculum Inquiry, 1977, 6(4), 341-356.
- Armstrong, M. Closely observed children. London: Writers and Publishing Cooperative Society, 1980.
- ARTS: Provincial Curricula. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983.
- Barett, M. C., & Light, P. H. Symbolism and intellectual realism in children's drawing. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1976, 46(2), 198-202.
- Battersby, D. The use of ethnography and grounded theory in educational research. McGill Journal of Education, 1981, 16(1), 91-98.
- Berger, P. L. Invitation to sociology: A humanistic perspective. Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1973.
- Best, J. W. Research in education (4th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- Beveridge, M. (Ed.). Children thinking through language. London: Edward Arnold, 1982.
- Blumer, H. Human behavior and social processes: An interactionist approach. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.
- Bogdan, R. Teaching fieldwork to educational researchers. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1983, 14(3), 171-178.
- Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S. Introduction to qualitative research method. New York: Wiley, 1975.

- Bowers, C. A. Curriculum as cultural reproduction: An examination of metaphor as a carrier of ideology. Teachers College Record, 1980, 82(2), 267-289.
- Bremme, E. W., & Erickson, F. Relationships among verbal and nonverbal classroom behaviors. Theory into Practice, 1977, 16(3), 153-161.
- Brittain, W. L. Creativity, art, and the young child. New York: Macmillan, 1979.
- Broudy, H. S. The whys and hows of aesthetic education. St. Louis, Missouri: CEMREL, 1977. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 167 458)
- Bruner, J. S. Culture politics, and pedagogy. In F. C. Ianni & E. Storey (Eds.), Cultural relevance and educational issues. Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.
- Burton, A. Anthropology of the young. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1978, 9(1), 54-71.
- Burton, J. M. Developing minds: Beginnings of artistic language. School Arts, 1980, 80(1), 6-12; 1980, 80(2), 60-65; 1980, 80(3), 58-64; 1980, 80(4), 26-30; 1981, 80(5), 58-64; 1981, 80(6), 76-80.
- Campbell, D. T., & Stanley, J. C. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.
- Carothers, J. T., & Gardner, H. When children's drawings become art: The emergence of aesthetic production and perception. Developmental Psychology, 1979, 15(5), 570-580.
- Castaneda, C. Journey to Ixtlan. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973.
- Chapman, L. H. Approaches to art in education. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.
- Cicourel, A. V. Language use and school performance. New York: Academic Press, 1974.
- Cohen, E. P., & Gainer, R. Art: Another language for learning. New York: Citation Press, 1976.
- Comitas, L., & Dolgin, J. On anthropology and education: Retrospect and prospect. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1978, 9(3), 165-180.
- Cox, M. V. Training perspective ability in young children. In G. Butterworth (Ed.), The child's representation of the world. New York: Plenum Press, 1977.

- Davies, B. An analysis of primary children's accounts of classroom interaction. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1980, 1(3), 257-278.
- Delamont, S. Interaction in the classroom. London: Methuen, 1976.
- Delamont, S., & Atkinson, P. The two traditions in educational ethnography: Sociology and anthropology compared. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 1980, 1(2), 139-152.
- Dennis, W. Group values through children's drawings. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.
- Department of Education. Curriculum Guide for Elementary Art. Edmonton: 1969.
- Deutscher, C. D. An ethnography of a kindergarten classroom: Searching out the hidden curriculum. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1979.
- Dewey, J. Art as experience. New York: Bolch, 1934.
- DiLeo, J. H. Young children and their drawings. New York: Brunner-Mazel, 1970.
- Dinkmeyer, D. C. Child development: The emerging self. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Dobbert, M. L. Ethnographic research. New York: Praeger, 1982.
- Donaldson, M. Children's minds. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.
- Douglas, J. D. (Ed.). Understanding everyday life. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.
- Duignan, P. A. Ethnography: An adventure in interpretive research. The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 1981, 27(3), 285-297.
- Ecker, D. W. Analyzing children's talk about art. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1973, 7(1), 58-73.
- Efland, A. The school art style: A functional analysis. Studies in Art Education, 1976, 17(2), 37-44.
- Eisner, W. E. The educational imagination. New York: Macmillan, 1979.
- Eisner, W. E. Recent developments in educational research affecting art education. Art Education, 1979, 32(4), 12-15.
- Eisner, W. E. The arts as a way of knowing. Principal, 1980, 60(1), 11-14.

- Eisner, W. E. On the differences between scientific and artistic approaches to qualitative research. Educational Researcher, 1981, 10(4), 5-9.
- Eisner, W. E., & Ecker, D. W. Readings in art education. Toronto: Blaisdell, 1966.
- Elkind, D. The hurried child. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1981.
- Engel, M. (Ed.). Some general considerations regarding research in the arts. Art Education, 1979, 32(4), 16-20.
- Erickson, R. Mere ethnography: Some problems in its use in educational practise. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1979, 10(3), 182-188.
- Feldman, E. B. Becoming human through art: Aesthetic experience in school. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Feldman, E. B. Anthropological and historical conceptions of art curricula. Art Education, 1980, 33(6), 6-9.
- Fetterman, D. Ethnographic techniques in educational evaluation: An illustration. Journal of Thought, 1980, 15(3), 31-48.
- Field, D., & Newick, J. (Eds.). The study of education and art. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Fishbein, H., Lewis, S., & Keiffer, K. Children's understanding of spatial relations: Coordination of perspective. Developmental Psychology, 1972, 7(1), 221-233.
- Fisher, E. F. Aesthetic awareness and the child. Itasca, Illinois: Peacock Publishers, 1978.
- Freeman, N., & Jaikoun, R. Intellectual realism in children's drawings of a familiar object with distinctive features. Child Development, 1972, 43(3), 1116-1121.
- Freire, P. Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Herder and Herder, 1971.
- Gardner, H. The arts and human development. New York: Wiley, 1973.
- Gardner, H., Winner, E., & Kircher, M. Children's conceptions of the arts. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1975, 9(3), 60-77.
- Gardner, H., Wolf, D., & Smith, A. Artistic symbols in early childhood. New York University Education Quarterly, 1975, 6(4), 13-21.

- Garfinkel, H. Studies in ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
- Geertz, C. The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Glaser, B. S., & Strauss, A. L. Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.
- Goetz, J. P., & LeCompte, M. D. Ethnographic research and the problem of data. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1981, 12(1), 51-70.
- Gold, R. L. Roles in sociological field observations. In G. J. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1969.
- Golomb, C. Young children's sculpture and drawing. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Goodenough, R. L. The measurement of intelligence by drawings. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1926.
- Goodman, M. E. The culture of childhood. Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1970.
- Goodnow, J. Children's drawing. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Gordon, I. J. Studying the child in school. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.
- Greene, M. Teacher as stranger. Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1973.
- Greene, M. Landscapes of learning. New York: Teachers College Press, 1978.
- Greene, M. The artistic-aesthetic and curriculum. Curriculum Inquiry, 1977, 6(4), 283-296.
- Griffin, E. F. Island of childhood. New York: Teachers College Press, 1982.
- Grisham, S. Elementary art appreciation. Instructor, 1980, 89(8), 126-128.
- Guba, E. G. ERIC/ECTJ Annual review paper. Educational Communication and Technology: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Development, 1981, 29(2), 75-91.
- Hardiman, G. W., & Zernich, T. Influence of style and subject matter on the development of children's art preferences. Studies in Art Education, 1977, 19(1), 29-35.

- Harris, D. B. Children's drawings as measures of intellectual maturity. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963.
- Harste, J. C. Research in context: Where theory and practise meet. Australian Journal of Reading, 1982, 5(3), 110-119.
- Haskell, L. L. Art in the early childhood years. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1979.
- Henry, J. A cross-cultural outline of education. Current Anthropology, 1960, 1, 267-305.
- Heyman, R. Comparative education from an ethnomethodological perspective. Comparative Education, 1979, 15(3), 241-249.
- Heyman, R. Ethnomethodology: Some suggestions for sociology of education. Journal of Education Thought, 1980, 14(1), 44-48.
- Hill-Burnett, J. Anthropology in relation to education. American Behavioral Scientist, 1979, 23(2), 237-274.
- Holden, C. D. Aesthetic education, aesthetic literacy, and the arts in general education. Art Education, 1978, 31(3), 23-27.
- Jackson, P. V. Life in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.
- Jagodzinski, J. Towards a new aesthetic. Occasional Paper #12, Curriculum, Media & Instruction. University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1979. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service ED 186 299)
- Jarrett, J. L. Value through the arts. Art Education, 1981, 34(2), 7-11.
- Johnson, N. R. Aesthetic socialization during school tours in an art museum. Studies in Art Education, 1981, 23(1), 55-64.
- Johnson, N. R. Children's meanings about art. Studies in Art Education, 1982, 23(3), 61-67.
- Kapferer, J. L. Socialization and the symbolic order of the school. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1981, 12(4), 258-274.
- Kaufmann, I. Art and education in contemporary culture. New York: Macmillan, 1966.
- Kellogg, R. R. Analyzing children's art. Palo Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing, 1970.
- Kimball, S. T. Cultural influences shaping the role of the child. In J. H. Chilcott, N. C. Greenberg & H. B. Wilson (Eds.), Readings in the socio-cultural foundations of education. California: Wadsworth, 1969.

- Klepsch, M., & Logie, L. Children draw and tell. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1982.
- Knieter, G. L., & Stallings, J. (Eds.). The teaching process and arts and aesthetics. St. Louis, Missouri: CEMREL, 1979.
- Knobler, N. The visual dialogue. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.
- Koppitz, E. M. Psychological evaluation of children's human figure drawings. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1968.
- Korzenik, D. Socialization and drawing. Art Education, 1979, 1, 26-30.
- Korzenik, D. Listening to children think about art. Presentations of Art Education Research, 1981, 6, 26-34.
- Kuhn, T. S. The structures of scientific revolutions (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Laing, R. D. Conversations with children. London: Penguin Books, 1978.
- Lair, J. I ain't much, baby—but I'm all I've got. Gordon City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972.
- Langer, S. The cultural importance of the arts. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1966, 1(1), 8-11.
- Lark-Horovitz, B. The art of the very young: An indicator of individuality. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1976.
- Lark-Horovitz, B., Lewis, H., & Luca, M. Understanding children's art for better teaching. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1973.
- LeCompte, M. D. Learning to work: The hidden curriculum of the classroom. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1978, 9(1), 22-37.
- LeCompte, M. D. The civilizing of children: How young children learn to become students. Journal of Thought, 1980, 15(3), 105-128.
- LeCompte, M., & Goetz, P. J. Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. Review of Educational Research, 1982, 52(1), 31-60.
- Leiter, K. C. W. "Telling it like it is." A Study of Teacher's Accounts. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, July, 1971.

- Levine, H. G., Gallimore, R., Weisner, T. S., & Turner, J. L. Teaching participant-observation research methods: A skills-building approach. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1980, 11(1), 38-54.
- Lewis, H. P. Spatial relations in children's drawings: A cross-generation comparison. Studies in Art Education, 1973-74, 15(3), 49-56.
- Lightfoot, S. L. A child's place: Toward a more complex view. IRCD Bulletin, 1978, 8(4), 1-7.
- Linderman, E. W., & Herberholz, D. W. Developing artistic and perceptual awareness. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1979.
- Locke, L. F., & Spirduso, W. W. Proposals that work: A guide for planning research. New York: Teachers College Press, 1976.
- Lowenfeld, V., & Brittain, W. L. Creative and mental growth (7th ed.). New York: Macmillan, 1982.
- Lubin, G. I., & Poulsen, M. K. (Eds.). Piagetian theory and the helping professions. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1978.
- Luckmann, T. Common sense, science and the socialization of knowledge. Phenomenology and Pedagogy, 1983, 1(1), 59-73.
- Lutz, F. W., & Ramsey, M. A. The use of anthropological field methods in education. Educational Researcher, 1974, 3(10), 5-9.
- Machover, K. Personality projection in the drawing of the human figure. Springfield, Illinois: C. C. Thomas, 1949.
- Mackotka, P. Aesthetic criteria in childhood: Justifications of preference. Child Development, 1966, 37(4), 877-885.
- Mattil, E. L., & Marzan, B. Meaning in children's art. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- Maully, G. J. The science of educational research. New York: American Book, 1963.
- McCutcheon, G. On the interpretation of classroom observations. Educational Researcher, 1981, 10(5), 5-10.
- McFee, J., & Degge, R. M. Art, culture and environment. Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1977.
- Mead, G. Mind, self, and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

- Nelson, T. M., & Flannery, M. E. Instructions in drawing techniques as a means of utilizing drawing potential of six- and seven-year-olds. Studies in Art Education, 1967, 8(2), 58-65.
- Ogbu, J. U. School ethnography: A multi-level approach. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1981, 12(1), 3-29.
- Ortega y Gasset, J. Phenomenology and art. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975.
- Overholt, G. E., & Stallings, W. M. Ethnographic and experimental hypotheses in educational research. Educational Researcher, 1976, 5(8), 12-14.
- Paine, S. (Ed.). Six children draw. Toronto: Academic Press, 1981.
- Parsons, M., Johnson, M., & Durham, R. Developmental stages in children's aesthetic responses. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1978, 12(1), 83-104.
- Pelto, P. J., & Pelto, G. H. Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry (2nd ed.). Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Phillips, W. A., Hobbs, S. B., & Pratt, F. R. Intellectual realism in children's drawings of cubes. Cognition, 1978, 6(1), 15-33.
- Porter-Gehrie, C. The ethnographer as insider. Educational Studies, 1980, 11, 123-124.
- Program of Studies for the Elementary School. Edmonton: King's Printer, 1936 and 1949.
- Program of Studies. Edmonton: Alberta Education, 1982.
- Programs of Studies for Elementary Schools of Alberta. Edmonton: Department of Education, 1965.
- Redl, F. When we deal with children. New York: Free Press, 1966.
- Rich, J. Interviewing children. Glasgow: Robert Maclehose, 1968.
- Richer, S. School effects: The case for grounded theory. Sociology of Education, 1975, 48(3), 383-399.
- Rist, R. C. Ethnographic techniques and the study of the urban school. Urban Education, 1975, 10(1), 86-108.
- Rist, R. C. On the means of knowing: Qualitative research in education. New York University Quarterly, 1979, 10(1), 17-21.

- Rist, R. C. Blitzkrieg ethnography: On the transformation of a method into a movement. Educational Researcher, 1980, 9(2), 8-10.
- Roberts, J., & Akinsanya, S. K. Educational patterns and cultural configurations. New York: David McKay, 1976.
- Roche, M. Phenomenology, language and the social sciences. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1973.
- Rosario, J. Children's conceptions of the arts: A critical response to Howard Gardner. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1977, 11(1), 91-100.
- Rosario, J., & Collazo, E. Aesthetic codes in context: An exploration in two preschool classrooms. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1981, 15(1), 71-82.
- Rosen, C., & Rosen, H. The language of primary school children. London: Penguin Books, 1973.
- Schirmmacher, R. Development of child art: A Piagetian analysis. In G. I. Lubin & M. K. Poulsen (Eds.), Piagetian theory and the helping professions. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1978.
- Schulman, L. S. Research on teaching in the arts: Review, analysis, critique. In G. L. Knieter & J. S. Stallings (Eds.), The teaching process and arts now and aesthetics. St. Louis, Missouri: CEMREL, 1979.
- Schutz, A. Collected papers I, The problem of social reality. The Hague: Martieus Nijhoff, 1973.
- Schutz, A. Collected papers II, Studies in social theory. The Hague: Martieus Nijhoff, 1964.
- Schwartz, G., & Merten, D. Participant observation and the discovery of meaning. Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 1971, 1, 279-298.
- Sharp, P. Aesthetic responses in early education. Art Education, 1976, 29(5), 25-29.
- Sieber, R. T. Schoolrooms, pupils and rules: The role of informality in bureaucratic socialization. Human Organization, 1979, 38(3), 273-282.
- Silvers, R. J. Discovering children's culture: Colloquium on everyday life in education settings. Interchange, 1975, 6(4), 47-51.

- Singer, G. F. Art in human development. Presentation on Art Education Research, 1979, 5, 126-129.
- Sitton, T., & Mehaffy, G. L. The child's culture of classrooms (and how to discover it). Education Leadership, 1978, 35(7), 521-525.
- Smith, D. E. The social construction of documentary reality. Sociological Inquiry, 1974, 44(4), 257-268.
- Smith, D. E. The erosion of childhood: Good news or bad news? Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 1983, 5(2), 128-133.
- Snyder, M. The young child as person. New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980.
- Spindler, G. Education and cultural processes: Toward an anthropology of education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.
- Spodek, B. (Ed.). Handbook in research in early childhood education. New York: Free Press, 1982.
- Spradley, J. P. The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979.
- Spradley, J. P. Participant observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.
- Spradley, J. P., & McCurdy, D. W. The cultural experience: Ethnography in complex society. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972.
- Spradley, J. P., & McCurdy, D. W. Anthropology: The cultural perspective. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975.
- Stake, R. E. The case study method in social inquiry. Educational Research, 1978, 20(2), 5-7.
- Suransky, V. P. The erosion of childhood. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Suransky, V. P. Lectures at Spring Session (1982). Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- Taunton, M. Aesthetic responses of young children to the visual arts. The Journal of Aesthetic Education, 1982, 16(3), 93-109.
- Tough, J. Focus on meaning. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973.
- Tough, J. Talking and learning. London: Schools Council Publication, 1977.

- Vasta, R. Studying young children. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1979.
- Vidich, A. Participant observation and the collection and interpretation of data. In G. J. McCall & Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1969.
- Vurpillot, E. The visual world of the child. New York: International Universities Press, 1976.
- Vygotsky, L. S. The psychology of art. London: M.I.T. Press, 1971.
- Wax, M., & Max, R. Anthropological fieldwork: Comments on its value and limitations. Journal of Thought, 1980, 15(3), 1-11.
- Webb, L. Making a start on child study. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975.
- Werner, W., & Rothe, P. Doing school ethnography. Monograph Series (Paper No. 2). Edmonton: Department of Secondary Education, Faculty of Education, The University of Alberta, 1980.
- West, G. W. Participant observation in Canadian classrooms: The need, rationale, technique, and development implications. Canadian Journal of Education, 1977, 2(3), 55-74.
- White, J. D. Talking with a child. New York: Macmillan, 1976.
- Whitney, T. Social reality in a grade four class. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1983.
- Wilcox, K. The ethnography of schooling: Implications for educational policy-making. Project Report No. 80-A10 (IFC). Stanford: Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, Stanford University, July 1980.
- Willats, J. How children learn to represent three-dimensional space in drawings. In G. Butterworth (Ed.), The child's representation of the world. New York: Plenum Press, 1977.
- Williams, R. M. (Ed.). Why children should draw: The surprising link between art and learning. Saturday Review, 1977, 9(3), 11-16.
- Wilson, S. The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. Review of Educational Research, 1977, 47(2), 245-265.
- Wolcott, H. Criteria for an ethnographic approach to research in schools. Journal for the Society for Applied Anthropology, 1975, 34(2), 23-31.

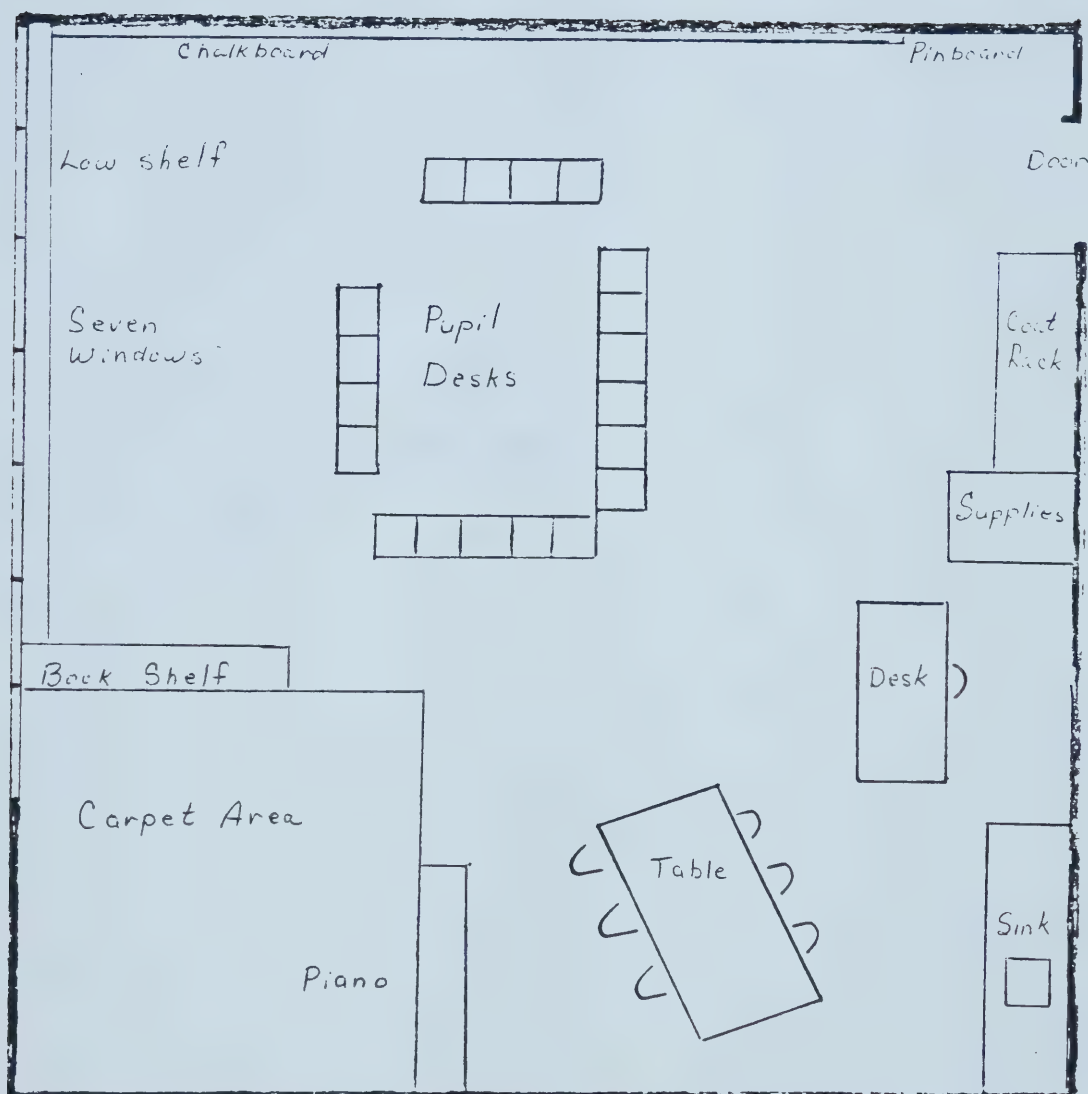
Young, M. (Ed.). Knowledge and control. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971.

Zurmuehlen, M., & Sacca, E. J. Indirectness/directness and emphatic understanding in discussion of art objects. Canadian Review of Art Education Research, 1977, 4(1), 24-29.

APPENDICES

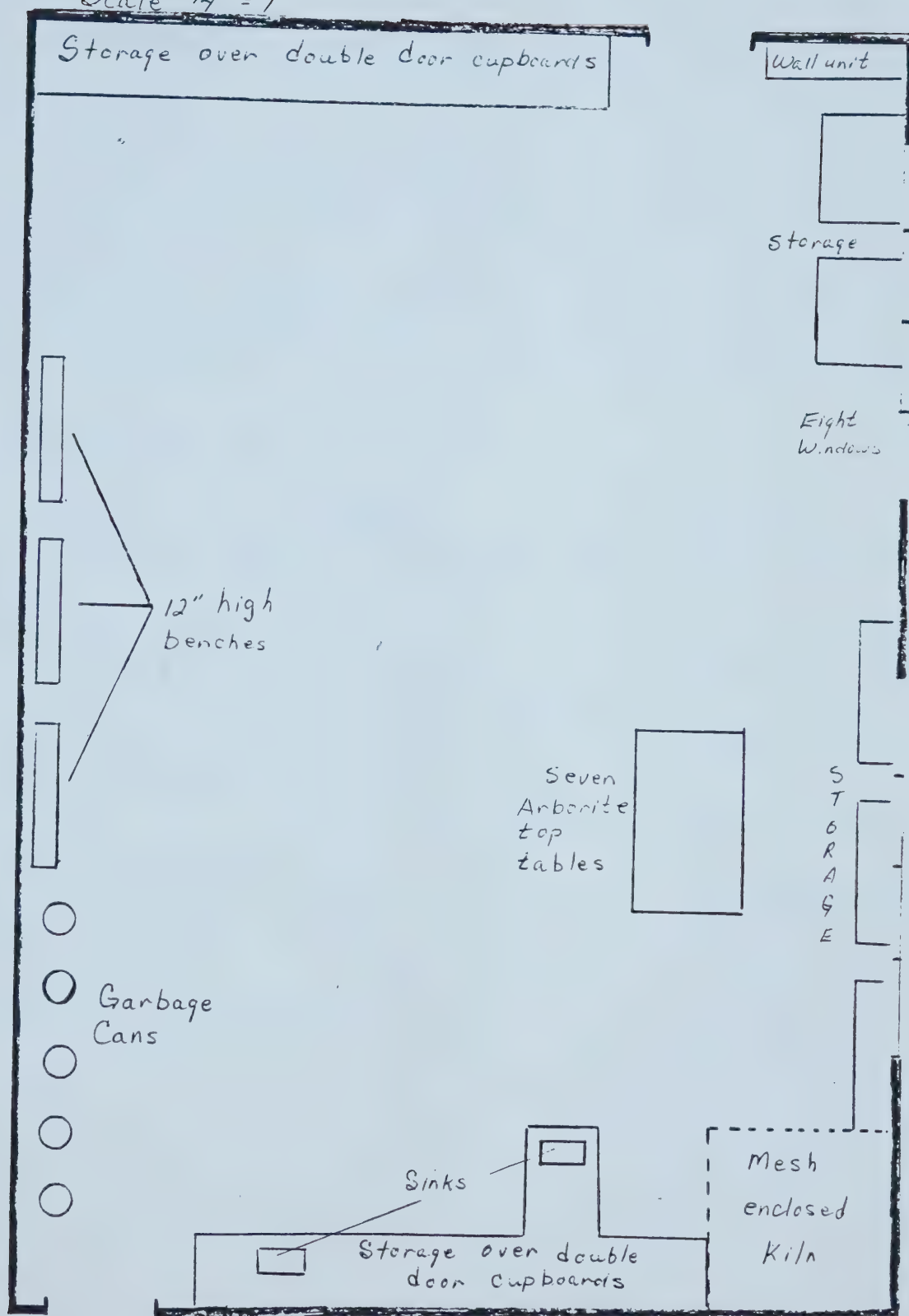
APPENDIX 1
THE CLASSROOM

Scale: $\frac{1}{4}" = 1'$



APPENDIX 2
THE ART ROOM

Scale $\frac{1}{4}" = 1'$



APPENDIX 3
RESEARCH PERMISSION FORM

COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES PROGRAM

1. Instructions

- a) This application form is to be used for research projects only. Research is defined here as a major undertaking leading to a Master's thesis or a Ph.D. dissertation, or studies of similar nature in magnitude.
- b) A copy of the ethical guidelines for research is included with this application. This document together with the request is to be reviewed jointly by the project initiator with his/her department chairman or designate to ensure that the project complies with the ethical guidelines. His/her signature, page 2, item 8, is needed to indicate that this requirement has been met.

2. Organization to be Involved

Edmonton Public School System ☐

County of Strathcona ☐

Edmonton Catholic School System ☐

St. Albert Protestant/Separate
School System ☐

N.A.I.T. ☐

3. Requestor (University staff member)

Name (include title) _____ Date _____
Faculty _____

Position _____ Department _____

Address _____ Telephone _____

If request is being made on behalf
of graduate student indicate _____
(Name)

(University address)

(University Telephone)

(If university address is unavailable, please give complete home address, including postal code.)

Ph.D. student ☐

Master's student ☐

Other ☐

4. Description of Research Project - include title, objectives, procedure, evaluation, techniques, etc.

5. Anticipated value to university participant:

6. Anticipated value to cooperating organization:

7. Suggested personnel, schools and times:

8. Approved by Department Chairman OR Designate

Signature _____

Date _____

For Office Use Only:

Approved by _____, Field Services Date _____

Approved by _____ Date _____

Subject to the following conditions:

(a) A report of the results of findings of this project is required by the cooperating school system (check one) yes ☐ no ☐

(b) Other

APPENDIX 4
SCHOOL PROGRAM

111. PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

program includes some special, unique aspects. There is a strong belief that curriculum should be presented on an integrated basis through the use of thematic teaching units wherever possible and that enrichment units taught to cross-graded groups of smaller than class size are beneficial.

THEMATIC UNITS

The theme teaching program is an attempt to unite the content from a particular theme (e.g. Greece - Mythology and Culture) with the skills, understandings and concepts in the core subject areas with an emphasis on the fine arts. Each theme is planned and written by the total staff and is taught in the individual classrooms from Kindergarten through to grade six. There are four themes taught per year, two major themes and two mini themes. A "major theme" is taught over a period of six to eight weeks while a "mini-theme" usually lasts between seven to fourteen days.

The themes are enhanced by large group sessions that include initiation of the theme, special events, and a culmination. The total school is often involved in field trips and in bringing in resource people and performing groups.

Examples of thematic units written by the staff in the six years the program has been in operation are:

Leonard da Vinci	Puppetry - Pinocchio
Peer Gynt - Scandinavian Culture and Folklore	Mozart
Mexico - A Culture Evolves	Dickens - England in His Time
Japanese Design	Chagall and Russian Folk Art
Journeys (with a focus on the Odyssey)	Greece - Mythology and Culture
The History of Opera	Canada's History through Music and Dance
Forever in Blue Jeans	All Roads Lead to Rome

ART

The one unique factor of the visual arts is that they deal with a visual product. Art is the only subject in the curriculum which emphasized visual symbology, or the aesthetic quality of a product whether it be a painting or a piece of architecture.

Through the provision of art experiences and through the use of a wide range of media and materials the art program should provide children with opportunities to:

- (1) develop skills in the major studio areas of: drawing, painting, print making, sculpture, fabrics and fabric decoration, in a sequential manner so the child is able to evaluate his/her progress.
- (2) develop an appreciation of the visual arts as manifested by classmates, artists in the community, and artists of the past.
- (3) use art as a mode of expressing his/her ideas and self.
- (4) develop the ability to learn and apply art vocabulary.
- (5) develop the ability to describe, analyse, interpret and judge art forms.
- (6) develop a basis for creative recreational and leisure time pursuits.
- (7) deal directly with emotional, intuitive, and subjective responses.
- (8) experience creative growth
- (9) observe and identify cultural differences, architectural changes, study the changing role of art in society, or understand a primitive, prehistoric or specific culture.

APPENDIX 5

ARTS: Provincial Curricula

Stated Principles of Organization and Design	Grades	Methods	Materials	Content
<u>Early Years</u> 1. Creating of art works. 2. The understanding of art.	1 - 6	Five broad skill areas are presented: drawing, painting, print-making, sculpture (including modeling and constructing), fabric (including fabric decoration). The capabilities, interests and enthusiasms of the teacher and the student will determine the extent of development of each aspect of the program.	<u>Elementary Art</u> A new program will be available in 1984.	A broad sequentially structured art program stressing the two major principles. Understanding the nature of art and its variety is of equal importance to the creating of art products. It is expected that the appreciative aspects of art education will have a greater impact on the lives of most children than will the actual production of art objects.

(ARTS: Provincial Curricula, 1983, p. 48)

University of Alberta Library



0 1620 0399 8125

B34328